

TADGH QUILL-MANLEY

A New History of Workers' Co-operation in the British Industrial Revolution

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AFTER OWEN & ROCHDALE: THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS

By the mid-nineteenth century, the labourers' situation had seen a little improvement. The implementation of Factory Acts imposed restrictions on the working hours of women, young individuals, and children. Additionally, the repeal of the maize Laws resulted in a decrease in the cost of maize, thereby alleviating some of the hardships created by the previously high costs. Additional legislation has eliminated some limitations on the ability of workers to form alliances. Despite lacking legal recognition, trade unions in this period provided workers with more options for association compared to prior years. This allowed them to effectively collaborate in their attempts to improve their working hours and circumstances. Nevertheless, a significant amount of sorrow continued to exist among the workers. Across several industries, earnings stagnated at a low level and working hours were excessively long, exacerbating poverty. Moreover, the bulk of workers faced a bleak future with no apparent way of escaping their impoverished circumstances. In 1843, Thomas Carlyle observed that England was abundant in riches, with the country adorned by bountiful vellow crops and a population of fifteen million industrious, intelligent, and eager workers. However, it was really a fact that a significant number of workers had fallen, or were rapidly falling, into a condition of extreme poverty, "for which, when all aspects are taken into account, there was truly no comparison."

By examining the speeches spoken in Parliament in 1840, we may get an understanding of the prevalent circumstances at that time. In Liverpool, a total of 7,860 basements served as residences and were occupied by a population of 39,000 individuals. According to reports, around 10,400 residents in Manchester and Salford were described as being in a state of extreme poverty and without basic furnishings. We encounter reports of individuals receiving a weekly salary of 1 shilling per person, along with a significant quantity of job opportunities and a surplus of unoccupied residences in the major industrial cities. The worker had gained some respite from the limitations that had previously impeded his freedom; vet, in many instances, his independence was just nominal, and the dread of poverty compelled him to accept little pay and unfavourable circumstances, and even to submit submissively to despotism. A significant number of workers held the belief that the use of machinery was the primary factor contributing to the widespread occurrence of stress and unemployment. As a result, sporadic and disorderly riots, characterised by the destruction of machines and other violent actions, occurred in different regions of Great Britain. The riots were then met with stringent suppressive actions, exacerbating the workers' anger to the point that a revolt seemed imminent. In 1848, a small group of individuals, who were profoundly worried about the state of events, formed an alliance with the aim of improving the situation of the labourers. The Christian Socialists were a distinct group of individuals, including Robert Owen and the Rochdale Pioneers, who were actively involved in the Co-operative Movement. Despite their religious beliefs, they differed from Owen and the Pioneers in their approach.

Nevertheless, they shared a common goal of expanding the implementation of co-operative principles in the industrial sector. They had significant impact on the movement itself and provided crucial support to other initiatives aimed at improving social and industrial circumstances. The individuals that served as leaders were Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, Edward Vansittart Neale, and John Malcolm Ludlow.

Maurice and Kingsley were Anglican priests, whereas Hughes, Neale, and Ludlow were lawyers. All of them were well-educated individuals who had benefited from the opportunities provided by attending prestigious universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. They held the belief that their benefits warranted an added responsibility to assist others who were less fortunate. Each individual has unique talents, which they generously used in their collective endeavours. They wholeheartedly served their peers to the fullest extent of their abilities and were willing to make significant sacrifices in order to assist one another Frederick Denison Maurice is widely seen as the foremost figure of the Christian Socialists, exerting significant influence on the group and anybody who came into touch with him. A colleague describes him as having a remarkable countenance that radiates the presence of an exceptionally profound spirit - one of those extraordinary beings whose acquaintance evokes a sense of the divine inside humanity. When I was with him, the most lasting impression I had was that everything insignificant and unimportant, every small and unworthy thought... Perhaps the key to the personal influence he had, which attracted men to him and to each other, was the profound respect he had for every

individual, regardless of their social status, occupation, race, abilities, or external situation. His life was characterised by great nobility in his actions. He selflessly dedicated himself to serving others, completely unaware of his own exceptional qualities.

Maurice was a devout individual who felt that each person's true understanding of themselves is achieved by seeing themselves as a tool for fulfilling the divine goal of a higher power. Nevertheless, he had a strong inclination towards uncovering the truth and consistently shown courage in expressing his thoughts and opinions, even when they contradicted the teachings of the bulk of the clergy during his time. From 1840 until 1853, he held the position of Professor at King's College London. However, his boldness in criticising the prevailing socioeconomic circumstances and his affiliation with certain social reformers led to clashes with some college administrators. The situation became critical when Maurice published a collection of essays that caused serious concerns in the Principal's mind. The Principal considered many of the statements in the essays to be of "dangerous tendency." In a College Council meeting in October 1853, it was decided to request Maurice's resignation, although the Council acknowledged that he had performed his duties with skill and enthusiasm. Maurice had a natural sense of sorrow when he was separated from his work and friends at King's College. However, he maintained a steadfast belief in the work he had started and continued to be associated with the Christian Socialists for the rest of his life. In addition, he provided vital assistance as the Principal of the college for working men, which was founded in 1854 by the Christian Socialists.

Charles Kingsley, the second clergyman-member of the tiny group, dedicated much of his life to overseeing a rural parish. Apart from rare travels to London, he had little involvement in the practical trials conducted by his colleagues. Nevertheless, his life and teachings served to entice others to participate in the endeavour, and he consistently supported it via his written works, lectures, and sermons. "He had such a strong understanding of the suffering experienced by the poor," a friend wrote, "and he felt deeply the indifference and incompetence of the Government and the majority of the ruling class in addressing these issues. At times, he even seemed to anticipate and fear the arrival of significant and catastrophic social upheavals, similar to the 'day of the Lord' that Isaiah predicted as the inevitable consequence of a world that had become corrupt but was still governed by a just God." As he grew older, he lost this intense feeling, but throughout his life, he consistently advocated for the rights of the oppressed and consistently worked towards making Christianity a powerful force in bringing about social change." In the "Dedication to the Life of Charles Kingsley," he is portrayed as a morally upright individual who held a deep love for God and truth above all else. He was known for his impeccable integrity, unwavering loyalty, and honourable conduct. Additionally, he possessed qualities of gentleness, strength, modesty, humility, and sincerity. He showed compassion towards the weak and had a strong desire to guide those who had gone astray. He was resolute in his opposition to any form of wrongdoing or oppression, and he held himself to the highest standards. By the 1910s, some of his writings had become well-known among school children, who eagerly followed the exploits of "Hereward, the Wake" and the adventures of the heroes in "Westward Ho!"He had a sense of joy and amazement when exploring nature's enchanting world in "Tom and the Water Babies." Additionally, he expressed his disapproval of the social structure of his day in such writings like "Parson Lot." The pamphlet titled "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" had a significant impact on awakening the more contemplative individuals in England to the atrocities of the sweating system. Similarly, the narrative of "Alton Locke" also addressed this issue and provided a vivid portrayal of the challenges and ambitions of numerous workers during this era. In Kingsley's earlier works, he depicted the malevolence stemming from unsanitary circumstances and inadequate access to clean water, and the consequential impact on the proliferation of illnesses like cholera. He also demonstrated how inadequate and unhealthy housing, poor salaries, and other problems were contributing to the decline of a certain group of agricultural workers in England.

Another individual in the group, who was also a close associate of Maurice, was Judge Hughes, affectionately referred to as "Tom Hughes" by his friends. Mr. Llewelyn Davies described him as a person with a childlike heart, unwavering loyalty, a warm and compassionate nature, and a sincere Christian faith. Judge Hughes was widely recognised by young people in the early 1900s as the author of "Tom Brown's School Days," a book that appealed to both boys and girls. This book effectively portrays the kind of characters that Hughes himself admired. Described as a candid and enthusiastic individual, exuding optimism and possessing a handsome appearance and

commanding presence, Hughes was known for his cheerful voice, hearty laughter, and ability to always find the positive qualities in others. In addition to his extensive legal expertise, Hughes also brought a charismatic personality that held significant sway within the Movement. He had a kind disposition, but was easily offended by disrespectful behaviour, especially when directed towards the vulnerable. He strongly believed in the positive outcomes that may arise from the camaraderie among a group of individuals united for noble purposes rather than personal profit. The remarkable fortitude and uncomplicated masculinity of his personality, along with his affable disposition and ability to adjust to the company of individuals from diverse social backgrounds and lower educational levels than his own, earned him the affection that established him as a dominant force in the Working Men's College. He and Maurice dedicated a significant amount of time and consideration to this institution. He had a strong interest in the Co-operative Movement and was always willing to help organisations, especially with any legal challenges they faced. He actively participated in several congresses and delivered talks at cooperative conferences throughout different regions of the nation. His writings and speeches made him well known among co-operators.

Edward Vansittart Neale, another member of the legal team, was well recognised and highly regarded among co-operators in general. The author of "Lives of Great Men and Women" states that several individuals may remember the peaceful and friendly demeanour of the subject, as well as his unwavering civility and the optimistic spirit that radiated from his face and

resonated in his voice, even when he was eighty-two years old. If he had a unique talent of exceptional intelligence, it was his ability to consistently see the most positive qualities in every individual. Truly, I question if anybody can recall him ever speaking in a manner that was unpleasant towards either a friend or an enemy. He was incapable of entertaining unkind thoughts and no setback ever seemed to overwhelm or discourage him.

Upon joining the Christian Socialists, Neale had a substantial wealth. He consistently offered his help in all their tasks and generously contributed both his financial resources and his time. He provided substantial loans to support the establishment of the "Self-Governing Workshops". Due to the failure of several ventures, he incurred substantial losses and within a few years, he saw a significant decline in wealth, remaining in a state of relative poverty for an extended period of time. He relinquished his dwelling in the West End of London and lived in a modest home in Hampstead for many years. From 1874 until 1891, he served as the secretary of the Co-operative Union, residing in modest accommodations in Manchester for most of the week. A documented occurrence during his visit exemplifies his kind disposition and willingness to forgo personal comfort in order to avoid inconveniencing others, even in the slightest manner. He formerly lived with two old women who had minimal culinary experience but were relatively skilled in producing cutlets. Neale harboured a strong aversion for these cutlets, yet he would often request them for his evening meal while residing there, out of concern for not offending the landladies or causing them any more inconvenience. Neale faced disapproval from

some of his friends and relatives due to his involvement with the Co-operative Movement and his views on social issues. Additionally, the financial losses he incurred by supporting several co-operation projects further fuelled their antagonism towards his work. Despite this, Neale had a strong concern for the working people and remained determined in his efforts to improve their circumstances. He dedicated himself to the Co-operative Movement for the whole of his life. He strongly advocated voluntary cooperation and provided significant assistance to cooperative groups. He created a set of exemplary regulations that were still often used for guidance. Their adoption significantly contributed to the success that the majority of cooperative societies had attained. Later on, he provided significant assistance in relation to the establishment of the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the coordination and operations of the Co-operative Union. He had admirable character and high moral values, and unquestionably had a significant positive impact on people who interacted with him.

The Hughes and Neale scholarships were established to honour the significant contributions that Hughes and Neale made to the Co-operative Movement. The scholarships were awarded to residents of Oriel College, Oxford, where both Hughes and Neale were members. These scholarships were issued based on the results of an examination that was available to the sons of co-operators. Visitors to Oxford with an interest in the Co-operative Movement would often focus their attention on Oriel College. During one of the Easter weekends organised by the Central Education Committee, co-operators were pleased to be invited to utilise one of the 'common rooms' at Oriel College as a

meeting place, as well as the college's dining hall for their lectures.

John Malcolm Ludlow was a lawyer who generously offered his legal expertise to communities in need. He provided vital assistance to the Co-operative Movement by draughting the first Industrial and Provident Societies Act in 1852 and actively promoting this legislation to members of Parliament, thereby facilitating its enactment. He resided in France throughout his formative years and received a portion of his education there. He greatly contributed to the promotion of awareness about the activities of the French self-governing workshops and played a significant role in facilitating the initiation of comparable experiments in England. An individual who was often connected with him describes him in the following manner: "Ludlow possessed a shy and reserved nature and consistently displayed a willingness to attribute credit for work he personally accomplished to others." He had a profound dedication to Maurice. Despite his usual reluctance to speak at meetings and conferences, any mention of Maurice and his work would consistently prompt him to express admiration for his former leader. Similarly, any mention of Maurice in the media that he deemed to be incorrect or misleading would always elicit a written protest or correction from him. He consistently expressed himself with great passion, pausing briefly to gather his thoughts. Then, he would rapidly deliver a few phrases, like to bullets fired from a machine gun. Once he conveyed what he saw important, he would promptly take a seat. He possessed a pleasant and kind disposition, but he was brutally honest in expressing his distrust towards certain individuals. He had firm beliefs

and a strong will, and once he made a decision on any matter, it was extremely difficult to convince him otherwise. Throughout his life, he maintained a close friendship with Hughes, Neale, and Maurice, and it is highly likely that he was the primary thinker behind the various projects they were involved in.

It is clear that individuals like the Christian Socialists were not satisfied with their own efforts to enhance the circumstances of the labourers. They saw the need to awaken the whole country to the existing problems. While boldly condemning these problems, they also aimed to inspire people to feel accountable for the welfare of their fellow citizens.

Their conviction in Christianity included a notion that religion should instill a sense of duty towards serving others, and that its teachings, when put into practice, would lead to increased happiness and moral improvement. The demonstration highlighted the hypocrisy of those identifying as Christians who were prepared to amass wealth via the work of others, but denied these people a just portion of benefits such as nutritious food, enough clothes, cosy houses, enjoyable leisure activities, and educational chances. They advocated for the idea that everybody who is willing to work should be remunerated with wages that are enough to meet their personal needs as well as the requirements of their dependents. They also held the belief that every individual has the entitlement to access educational opportunities that would cultivate and enhance their abilities, so enabling them to contribute positively to the welfare of the country.

Although they had divergent views from Robert Owen on other matters, they agreed with his belief that genuine pleasure can only be attained by actively pursuing the well-being of others and being prepared to assist them. Like Robert Owen, they believed in the benefits of association for the collective gain of those involved. They believed that the most of the societal problems during their time were caused by the selfcentredness of individuals and the flawed approaches to structuring the economy. Consequently, they voiced their opposition to the belief that it was God's will for the majority of people to be condemned to a life of destitution and humiliation. They had a strong conviction that the principles of Christianity, when properly comprehended, would provide individuals with the greatest motivation to act selflessly and empower them to lead improved lives. Consequently, they identified as Christian Socialists, since they believed their purpose was to "infuse socialism with Christian principles and put Christianity into practice."

They began their job by initiating a process of familiarising themselves with the state of the workers and their desires and ambitions. Once they had gathered information on the existing circumstances in the sector, they made concerted efforts to disseminate this knowledge as far as they could. As a method to do this, they published a document titled "Politics for the People", which unfortunately, did not achieve much popularity. "Tracts on Christian Socialism" were periodically published, along with other pieces they wrote on economic and social situations. The first empirical effort was the establishment of autonomous workshops, which also provided substantial assistance to cooperative societies in creating a centralised entity

for procuring commodities on a wholesale basis for these organisations. Unfortunately, this later endeavour was not enduringly successful and had to be terminated. Nevertheless, it served as a valuable experiment in the field of wholesale commerce. It quickly became apparent that the workers as a collective were not yet equipped to achieve optimal outcomes via collaboration. The Christian Socialists believed that the workers' lack of education was partially responsible for the problem, thus they resolved to make every effort to rectify this shortcoming. It is important to note that throughout this period, there was no comprehensive system in place for educating children at a national level. Additionally, there were no continuation schools or chances for higher education for adults, as we have today. Indeed, Mechanics Institutes had been established in scattered locations to provide certain groups of workers with the opportunity to pursue various areas of study. However, these institutions were insufficient to meet the prevailing demands and did not enjoy widespread popularity among the workers.

The Christian Socialists saw that one of the significant benefits of attending college, particularly a university, was the ability for individuals to interact with people who had diverse backgrounds and perspectives on life. Consequently, they decided to build an educational institution to provide the workers with some of these benefits. The decision was made to designate it as a college, with the intention of creating an environment that really embodies the essence of a college. This would allow individuals to fully appreciate the benefits of camaraderie in their studies, where tutors and students may freely interact as equals and engage in

open discussions on differing viewpoints on different subjects.

The Working males's College was established in 1854 at 37 Red Lion Square, London, W.C. It offered a variety of evening lectures specifically designed for the target audience of males. Frederick Denison Maurice assumed the role of the College's first Principal, and it is certain that the institution greatly benefited from his exceptional qualities and unwavering dedication to its mission. According to reports, Judge Hughes first taught a legal course, but when it failed to attract pupils, he proposed teaching the skill of boxing. He found this to be appealing and as a result, he developed a strong bond with some of the students. It is likely that although they lacked intellectual achievements, they made up for it by establishing a deep understanding and respect for each other. This kind of mutual support is crucial for people from different social backgrounds to truly assist one another. John Ruskin, a renowned instructor, gained worldwide recognition for his painting lessons. He volunteered his services after receiving a circular about the College. The assistance he provided to the College was very beneficial, since it had a significant impact on the art education and also facilitated the involvement of other renowned painters, such as D., via his influence. Gabriel Rossetti and Lowes Dickinson provided vital support to the Art School. For a period of time, all of the professors provided their services without receiving any kind of payment, and throughout its existence, the College heavily depended on volunteer assistance. Tutors and students saw the benefits of personal closeness and camaraderie in studying, and they retained the finest traditions of college life. The College had significant

success from its inception and quickly outgrew its first facilities. The subsequent location of the house was on Great Ormond Street, where it stayed until 1905, at which point it relocated to the grand premises it would inhabit on Crowndale Road, St. Pancras. In this establishment, the students had access to a well-equipped lecture hall, many classrooms, a superb library, a comfortable common-room, and various other spaces for lectures, studying, and leisure activities.

Prior to World War I, the College had an enrolment of more over 1,000 students every session, despite its limited operating hours exclusively in the nights. The college had a significant number of co-operators among its students. In the 1920s, its affiliation with the Co-operative Movement was further reinforced when the college authorities invited co-operative gatherings, including a weekend event and two Summer Schools, to be held at the college.

The Co-operators fondly recalled the warm reception they received from the college authorities on these and other occasions. When they visited the College, they felt a sense of belonging, as if they were returning home, as one former Principal put it. The College still exuded the spirit of its founders, evident in the portraits of the individuals who had contributed to its work, displayed in the College common-room. Early co-operative societies had a challenge in that the law did not provide any safeguards for their finances, leaving them without legal rights or protection against dishonest staff or members. The Christian Socialists believed that in order for the Co-operative Movement to reach its full potential in industry, it was essential to

have some kind of legal protection, since the absence of such protection posed a significant obstacle to success. Consequently, they prepared a Bill that would provide communities with this level of protection. After draughting the Bill, they proceeded to seek the attention of Members of Parliament in order to garner support for it when it was presented in Parliament. After a significant amount of labour, their efforts were ultimately successful in 1852 when the first Industrial and Provident Societies Act was enacted. This legislation is often referred to as the "Magna Charta of Co-operation" and may be considered the primary document of the Co-operative Movement. In 1862, mostly due to the impact of this group of individuals, an additional Act was enacted. This enabled one civilisation to own shares in another, facilitating the development of collaboration.

The Christian Socialists extended their efforts outside collaboration with the Co-operative Movement, while always maintaining their dedication to its cause. They saw the need of implementing further changes in social and industrial circumstances. As a result, they provided significant support to trade unions, aiding in their legal recognition. They consistently emphasised the need for improved sanitary facilities in relation to drainage, water provision, and housing. In addition, they supported the implementation of an improved education system that would benefit all children. They also shown a strong interest in any initiatives aimed at achieving social transformation. Assessing the whole worth of their efforts, especially the services they provided to the Co-operative Movement, proved to be challenging. Indeed, it is accurate to say that one of their primary endeavours in collaboration, namely the

self-governing workshop, did not achieve significant success. Additionally, in subsequent years, several cooperators had contrasting opinions about the contentious matter of distributing profits among the people working in co-operative societies. Nevertheless, the co-operative movement was very indebted to the Christian Socialists for generously offering their legal expertise to assist the co-operative societies and immediately providing assistance with any legal issues. The Industrial and Provident Societies Acts serve as a permanent memorial of this aspect of their efforts.

Arguably, our primary reason for appreciation towards them was in their consistent prioritisation of the principles of the Co-operative Movement and their stress on its ethical foundation. They advocated for individuals to collaborate with others for the purpose of providing assistance to those in need. Individuals of exceptional calibre are drawn to the principles of any cause, rather than being motivated by the prospect of acquiring monetary wealth. The Christian Socialists recognised this and consistently endeavoured to make individuals understand that the fundamental principle of cooperation is based on the idea of coming together for the collective benefit. They emphasised that this principle is worth striving for, even if it means sacrificing leisure time and working with utmost dedication. Therefore, via both instruction and demonstration, this collective of individuals established a lofty benchmark of diligent labour and selflessness for the sake of the community, a benchmark that all collaborators should strive to attain

VICTORIAN CO-OPERATION (1854-1899)

An article titled 'Labour and Wages' was published in Reynold's Newspaper on 9 April 1854, detailing the Preston 'lock-out'. The Masters' Association was said to have imported 'strangers' who were causing sad situations of poverty, and these cases were now being revealed. Two female immigrants from London, one with six children and the other with five, presented themselves before the magistrates at the Town Hall. They found themselves in a distressing situation as they had been recruited in London by a man named Clegg to work at Mr. Eccles' mill in Bamberbridge, near Preston. The conditions presented to them were that their children, who were above the age of 13, would get a weekly wage ranging from 5 shillings to 7 shillings. Those who were less than 13 would be engaged as "short timers," working half a day and attending school for the other half. They arrived in Preston two weeks ago. "The guys have a dislike for the task," said the lady who held the position of main speaker. "Mr. Eccles failed to meet our expectations, and we are unable to rely on it. We are now facing dire conditions; Mr. Eccles has informed us that if we do not vacate our current residence, he would evict us into the street. Throughout the week, our only source of sustenance has been the generosity of our neighbours. We need some support in order to return to London.

The Bench enquired about Eccles' fulfilment of his contractual obligations, to which the petitioner responded by stating "not at all". The impoverished ladies grieved sorrowfully and were clearly experiencing significant distress. One individual,

described as a 'dignified lady', claimed to have ended a cosy household in order to go to Preston. The court instructed a police officer to accompany the parties of the relieving officer. Instances of a similar kind were common. Last week, the quantity of unfamiliar individuals brought in exceeded 300. During the same time frame, around forty to fifty immigrants had returned to Ireland, Manchester, and other locations due to dissatisfaction or inability to continue their work. Mr Cowell, Mr Grimshaw, Mr Waddington, and Mr Lang, who were members of the committee, spoke at a gathering held in a field near Fulwood, which was located around one mile away from the city.

The chairman informed Lang that only by returning work would they be eligible for a salary increase. He said that if they returned to their jobs, they would get a 10% rise in the near future. If the manufacturers were willing to have the workers return to work at prices lower than those in March, with a promise to adjust the prices to meet the people's demands within one, two, or three weeks, he would agree to this condition. However, he questions whether the masters would provide a guarantee to fulfil this commitment. The operators did not pursue triumph. If the employers were to guarantee that they would receive their desired wages three weeks after returning to work, he would immediately instruct them to resume work. He expressed his optimism and confidence that the individuals he would invite to speak at the meeting would refrain from using any provocative language; if they were to do so, he would promptly step down from his position as chairperson. He had no want to get further involved in the unpleasant situation; he would like to immediately withdraw from the turmoil. The

behaviour of the individuals and the words used by their leaders have a significant impact. Over the next three months, the fate of the delegates who were to be tried at the upcoming assizes, a court that used to convene periodically in each county of England and Wales to administer civil and criminal law, hung in the balance. Grimshaw asserted his profound regard for peace, law, and order, but he adamantly refused to allow anybody to silence him. He said that he had been unable to get work in many Lancashire mills for a long time due to his independent thinking. On that day, he declared that he would not be silenced by any political group, even at this late stage of the war. Nevertheless, he said that he had no intention of endangering any of his coworkers. He was willing to take full responsibility for his own comments and actions Grimshaw proceeded to provide a detailed report of the several meetings he had participated in over the week. He closed by reiterating his resolute stance of demanding a ten percent increase without any willingness to compromise.

Following some comments from Waddington, who expressed his continued passion for the subject, Cowell spoke to the gathering. He began by discussing the concept of freedom of speech, then proceeded to highlight the inadequate salaries received by industrial workers in Lancashire. He then recounted his recent visit to London, where he had delivered a speech to a sizable audience. Later, he mentioned the extreme poverty of abandoned immigrants and noted that out of the jobless individuals who were now being supported by the weavers' committee, there were around 1,000 who would never find employment in the mills. Ultimately, the speaker urged the audience to choose

"peace, law, and order" as their guiding principle, as they have done in the past, and assured them that they would ultimately achieve their desired goal. Expressions of gratitude were extended to the chairman, and enthusiastic applause was offered in recognition of the 10% achievement, after which the audience departed.

A further gathering was place in Fulwood, during which the majority of the representatives spoke, with Luke Wood from Stockport presiding as the chairman. Grimshaw discussed the topic of co-operative selfemployment, which has received little attention recently. He proposed that they start working independently, and once the manufacturers saw their towering chimneys being built, they would start paying attention to their surroundings. According to him, it is necessary to construct a new town in Lancashire, and he believes it can be accomplished over a short span of a few months. If the individuals have the necessary determination, the resources were readily available to them. They have the ability to construct a town with an equivalent number of new mills as those in Preston, which they would humorously name "New Regenerated Preston." The speaker asserts that this is achievable and suggests relocating all inhabitants of Preston. They question the significance of the mills owned by the industrial magnates in such a scenario. According to him, the mills have value just as long as there were individuals available to labour in them. He requested them to consolidate their financial resources, deplete the cash from every financial institution in the nation where they had deposited money, establish their own manufacturing facilities, and therefore put an end to the oppressive rule of cotton magnates. Given this

situation, he saw no justification for feeling discouraged by any conclusion of the conflict. He had the belief that, regardless of the circumstances, the outcome would be favourable.

Cowell once again suggested arbitration as the most efficient means to get a friendly resolution to the issue. According to his perspective, it was preferable to resolve the matter, since there were many others who were affected by it despite having no involvement. He enquired about the number of 'mill-lasses' who had visited the drapers' stores to purchase new outfits in the last thirty weeks. What was the number of young men that visited the tailors to get jackets, waistcoats, and pants during that time? The individuals were left wearing unsanitary garments. The tailors were recounting a gloomy narrative; indeed, the impact was being experienced across the entirety of Preston. Despite the prevailing distress, it appeared that the employers were resolute in their determination to bring Preston to its knees rather than acquiesce to the factory workers' rightful request. The audience expressed their unwavering commitment to the cause and enthusiastically shouted for the 10%. Several London donations were donated to the Preston Factory Operatives and were accepted by the Metropolitan Trades Committee on their behalf. This included a contribution from the Tin Plate Workers' Co-operative. It is important to mention that this event took place in 1854, which was 14 years before to the birth of James Connolly, a prominent figure in the Irish Labour Movement

The strike by the Midland Railway Porters concluded a few days in advance, with the workers successfully achieving their objectives. At 4:30 p.m, Mr. Allport, the general manager, summoned all the striking personnel to gather in the goods shed at the Midland station, as instructed. They complied with his request. Allport spoke to them extensively, expressing his lack of intention to harm them. Instead, he proposed paying them every two weeks according to the office's convenience. However, if the men liked the previous method of weekly payment, he would agree to it. After a brief consultation, the men notified Allport that they would only continue work provided they were paid in the same manner as before, which was every Thursday evening. Allport then expressed his consent to their request. The walkout resulted in significant disarray in one of the departments, as the station-yard and the approaches were congested with delayed baggage trains. Another portion of the article discusses a planned Act that would impede the operations of Friendly Societies. The capitalist interests were accused of obstructing individuals from forming associations for Christian causes. By this time, worker co-operatives had already been founded in Great Britain. An advertising for the Glenfield Starch Workers' Cooperative Society was published in the Renfrewshire Independent on 18 January 1862.

An article about the co-operative movement was published in the Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer on 8 January 1869. The main emphasis of the event was the annual meeting of the Ladywood (Birmingham) Co-operative Society. The meeting was chaired by George Dixon, MP, and among the attendees was the Right Honourable individual. C. B. Adderley, Member of

Parliament, mentioned in the annual report the establishment of the Ladywood Society, which began in March 1866 with 15 members and a capital of £1 18s. By May of the same year, the society had a paid-up capital of £10 and started conducting business. However, it wasn't until September that a shop was acquired. The first annual report, dated December 1866, indicated that there were 35 members, £153 1s 2d worth of business conducted, and a society capital of £53 3s 7d. By 1867, the membership count had risen to 190, the capital had reached £425, and the business had been converted to £2212. During the previous year, the firm conducted transactions totalling £4657 6s 3d. The capital climbed to £802, and the earnings for the year, distributed as dividends to members and non-members as interest on capital, amounted to £179.

Adderley, a member of the Tory party, stated that throughout his time in parliament, he focused primarily on advocating for legislation that supported various forms of mutual assistance. He expressed satisfaction in being one of the individuals who successfully eliminated the final legal barrier that hindered the progress of such legislation over the past three decades. Additionally, he highlighted the importance of dispelling the prejudice that led some individuals to view cooperative institutions as conspiracies or political alliances that posed a threat to the community. He portrayed the Rochdale Society as an exceptionally prosperous cooperative organisation, which served as a valuable model for both urban and rural areas. He believed that the people of Birmingham, in particular, should hold the society in high regard, as it originated from their city, which is also the residence of their esteemed parliamentary representative. He was pleased

to see the first replication of the prosperous Rochdale Association, overseen by another one of their delegates - a respectable and principled person whom he regarded as the foremost advocate in Parliament for any significant matters pertaining to their community. The principles of cooperation, as exemplified by the Ladywood Society, are applicable to both small villages and large towns. This was demonstrated by the success of a cooperative association established by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Leigh, the rector of Stoneleigh, in his own parish. The co-operative societies offered both monetary and moral benefits of the utmost quality. Cooperative societies provided small-scale individuals with access to the tangible rewards often associated with capital. They provided the general public with affordable access to essential goods and even luxuries. Furthermore, they protected their members against fraudulent practices, since relatively few individuals were willing to harm themselves. In addition, these affiliations allowed them to overcome the hardships they had experienced, whether it was a previous trial or a current one. This was particularly evident when these societies endured the cotton famine, a recent and severe test of their resilience

The moral benefits, however, were far higher and more significant than the pecuniary benefits. One of the most commendable attributes of these organisations was their ability to prevent the majority of the population from incurring debt. A significant portion of the community remained indebted for their entire lives, apart from their cooperative associations. This substantial burden severely hindered their efforts, extinguished any motivation for exertion, and impeded any advancement in their social status. He firmly

believed that co-operative associations were powerful catalysts for national education in the country. This was because they fostered the principles of self-reliance and self-confidence, which were previously thought to be exclusive to the educated and affluent classes in the UK. The topic of cooperation was of utmost significance and one that included ideals that should inspire all those engaged. There is no reason to question the fact that the Divine Being intended for all individuals to engage in collaborative labour. With His sagacity, He meant for the whole world to function as a unified entity of collaboration. Consequently, those individuals who were self-absorbed and isolated in their endeavours were transgressors of the principles and guidelines of human civilisation. He said that the biases that led men to believe that they could only succeed via competition and exclusion had largely disappeared, and men now saw that the success of one individual benefits everyone. He expressed his disapproval of certain sentiments mentioned in the Co-operative Association's publication. He believed it was unfortunate that a spirit of class hostility was being introduced into an association that represented the need for all classes to work together harmoniously employers with employees, capital with labour. He had little confidence in writers or speakers who engaged in the derogatory treatment of any social group. He firmly believed that no nation on Earth had achieved complete social equality, and therefore, it was inevitable to find both virtuous and immoral individuals in every social class. He believed that organisations like the one he was speaking to were designed to foster empathy and collaboration. Therefore, he was grateful for the chance to express his strong emotions on the matter and assure them of his wholehearted support for the Ladywood

Society's success. He ended by proposing "that, in the view of this gathering, cooperative societies of this nature, operated with effective and prudent administration, are highly capable of enhancing and ameliorating the circumstances of the labouring population."

On 18 September 1869, the Barnsley Chronicle reported an incident involving the secretary of the Monmore-green Industrial and Provident Iron Manufacturing Society (Limited) in Wolverhampton. The secretary was accused of obtaining 3.5 tonnes of hay through deceitful means. He had claimed to be an iron master in partnership with his uncle and requested the hav for their horses. However, it was later discovered that he was living in a small cottage and not engaged in any iron business. As a result, he was arrested and committed for trial. After acquiring the hay, he resold it at a price that was 10 shillings lower per tonne than what he first paid for it. Overall, he bought a total of 40 tonnes at a price of £4 10s per tonne. However, only 3.5 tonnes were really delivered as the first payment. There were further such allegations.

An address was published in the Bradford Observer on 24 May 1870, specifically directed towards the 'worker brothers' of the 'Working Men of Bradford'. The purpose of the address was to inform them about an upcoming meeting to discuss the education question. The writer acknowledged the importance of this subject to the readers and their children, and therefore felt compelled to share their own perspective on it. The writer wanted the readers to consider their viewpoint

before attending the meeting, which might be influenced by partisan sentiments. Since the bill proposed by Mr. Forster claimed to be for the education of the working classes, the writer emphasised that this class of the community had a more direct stake in the matter than any other. He asserted that the primary distinction between the powerful and the workers lay in their access to education and their desire for it. Specifically, he focused on what he referred to as 'scholastic' education, which encompassed skills such as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and the ability to communicate effectively in the English language. He stated that a labourer could possess expertise in their craft or profession, as well as possess intellectual and creative abilities, demonstrating a powerful and innovative mindset in their work. This would make them valuable to both the nation and humanity. However, if the worker lacked the aforementioned education, they would discover a significant divide separating them from the ruling class. He said that the working class and impoverished individuals were often lacking in understanding of grammar and were often equated with stupidity. According to people who knew nothing else, the pursuit of grammar, in their view, could not be adequately compensated for. He said that they are unable to comprehend the idea that someone may hold substantial expertise in their profession, which has been acquired via years of hard work and focused attention. He said that providing elementary education to the workers of the country will enhance the nation's strength and wealth, and contribute to the overall improvement of the globe. He also emphasised the potential role of labour unions in facilitating this endeavour. The individual had the belief that education would elevate

the leading industrial country of the globe, enabling workers to collaborate effectively and therefore secure a larger portion of their labour via enhanced efficiency and expertise. According to the North British Daily Mail, the 18th quarterly report of the Flax-mill Workers' Co-operative Society (Limited) was held at the Temperance Hall during the week of 16 February 1871. There was a significant turnout. George Craig. the president of the organisation, assumed the position of the chair. The 18th quarterly report, which was approved, indicated that the total membership was 341. The sales for the quarter were \$3188 17s, while the earnings amounted to £287 4s 0.5d. A dividend was announced on purchases, with members receiving 2s per £ and non-members receiving 1s per £. The organisation has just leased an extra retail space.

The Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter published a story on January 13, 1872, stating that the Todmorden Industrial and Co-operative Society delivered its 20th annual report for the year 1871. By doing so, they had the gratification of maintaining a consistent level of success, as seen by the continued growth in membership and the volume of business conducted. In the year 248, there were 190 new members added after accounting for the 58 who withdrew due to reasons such as changing domicile. The current membership count is at 1,340. The share capital is £17,280 14s 0.5d, which represents a £4,010 18s 7.5d growth compared to the previous year. The sales for the prior year were £48,065 8s 11.5d, which is £7,251 15s 11.5d more than any preceding year. The semiannual meeting also resolved to acquire one hundred £1 shares in the Co-operative Insurance Company, which had relocated its headquarters to the

North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester. At the time of the report, just 25% of the shares remained unpaid. The aforementioned statement is seen to strongly indicate the prosperous development of the cooperative concept. Undoubtedly, the distribution of dividends to members during that year brought joy and happiness to many households. A significant number of members had managed to save £5, £10, or £15 from their payout over the last year as a precautionary measure, highlighting the benefits of a cooperative shop for a working individual.

The Morpeth Herald, on 20 June 1885, documented the inauguration of a new establishment belonging to the Old Pit Co-operative Society in Ashington. The buildings were constructed on a field next to the road near the First Station. The proprietors of the colliery generously provided the land, resulting in a grand and significant look. The buildings, constructed with brick and stone facings, were organised as follows: the basement contained a sizable cellar, while the ground floor housed two large shops for conducting the society's business. Behind the shops, there was a spacious flour warehouse and a room for dry goods. Above the shops, there was a generous lecture hall. Towards the rear, there was a milliner's show room, a tea room, a secretary's office, and a committee room with folding doors that could be opened to extend the lecture hall for large meetings. Above the tea and milliner's rooms, there were three work rooms dedicated to dress making, tailoring, and shoemaking. Adjacent to the store at the front was the manager's residence, which consisted of two rooms on the ground level, a scullery, and other modern amenities, along with a backyard. On the upper floor, there were two

bedrooms. The next establishment was the temperance hotel, which had a front bar, dining room, kitchen, scullery and other amenities on the ground floor. It also had a spacious yard with outbuildings, including a stable, hay loft and coach house. On the first floor, there was a smoke room, commercial room, three bedrooms and an ante-room connecting the hotel to the lecture hall. The second floor had two bedrooms. The entire cluster of buildings occupied a total area of 1180 square yards and was constructed based on the designs of Messrs. Oliver and Leeson, architects from Newcastle. The construction was carried out by Mr. Wm Lilburn, a contractor from Blyth, while Mr. W. J Charlton, an engineer from Ashington, effectively fulfilled the responsibilities of the clerk of works. The temperance hotel was considered a valuable addition to the colliery, since the estate did not permit any public places. The Ashington Coal Company had graciously agreed to provide an annual donation of £35 to help cover the costs of the establishment. The recent proceedings were initiated by the society's committee, members, and employees, along with a substantial number of friends. They gathered at the society's former premises, where they formed a procession and marched to the new buildings. The Ashington Brass Band, led by Mr. Thomas Floyd, led the procession. Upon arrival, individuals positioned themselves in front of the balcony, where a podium was constructed. Subsequently, many males presented speeches. Mr. R.L Booth assumed the position of the chair and, in a concise and fitting speech, presented Jonathan Priestman, Esq, of Shotley Bridge, who is one of the proprietors of the colliery. Mr. Priestman graciously conducted the ceremony of officially opening the premises to the public. Mr Priestman expressed his

delight at being there at the event and said that he had closely observed the development of the building since the foundation stone was set. He got the opportunity to inspect the impressive building, which seemed to be meticulously designed and executed by the contractor. Travellers from Morpeth to Newbiggin would see two remarkable sights: intriguing remnants from a tumultuous era of conflict, as well as contemporary structures that represent the achievements of modern and nonviolent commerce. In a sonnet, Milton expressed that peace's victories were not as esteemed as those of war. However, given our current tendency to bestow more honour upon triumphant soldiers rather than successful peacemakers, it would have been more fitting for him to assert that the victories of peace should be regarded as equally deserving as those of war. The formidable forces of nature were diligent labourers, and collaborative progress was largely commensurate with their efforts. The contemporary system of cooperation was vast and expansive, like to the many grains of sand in the sea. Its potential for growth was indeterminable and could not be constrained by external forces. At that point, it had been 600 years since the establishment of the House of Commons, and no one could have predicted its transformation by the late 1800s. It was said that the two paramount elements in society were liberty and order, and that it was futile to amalgamate these two. It was thought that you might have dictatorship in a state of complete organisation and that you could have anarchy and complete freedom. The two essential desires in governance are liberty and order, whereas the two necessary elements in business are money and labour. At that moment, he was astonished by the things he had heard about labour. It was once believed that

capital was detrimental to labour. If that were true, the regions with the lowest amount of capital would have the greatest salaries, and conversely, the regions with the largest amount of capital would have the lowest wages. He would recommend considering Ireland, a country with relatively little capital and where salaries were not found to be high. Setting aside that topic, a sequence of confrontations between capital and labour became evident. It seemed to him that even while cooperation may be limited and feeble, a future historian would argue that it had facilitated a dubious alliance between capital and labour. He anticipated that the debut of those premieres would achieve resounding success and advance the broader issue of collaboration.

On December 10, 1887, Justice announced the inauguration of a new building for the London Branch of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. This event highlighted the impressive growth of industrial cooperation, leading many influential writers to view it as evidence of the improving conditions for the working class and a potential solution to the social problem. They believed that by enhancing the financial status of workers and strengthening the power of capital, this development would render soc The charitable capitalist's ideal worker is someone who is financially comfortable enough to be satisfied with their position as a wage slave, but not so wealthy as to escape that status. Capitalistic proponents see cooperation as a method to achieve this goal. Enthusiastic collaborators had a more noble objective in mind. For them, the ultimate achievement of working together meant the total liberation of labour via the progressive advancement of collective production and distribution. However, despite the highly praised achievements of

collaboration, both the altruistic investor and the eager co-operator seemed to be far from achieving their expectations. Industrial cooperation has undeniably achieved success as a business endeavour. However, the immense popularity of it also plainly highlighted its failure as a solution to the societal issue. In both London and the provinces, the branch societies were expanding their activities fast in all areas. Meanwhile, the 'wholesale' organisation had a yearly revenue of several millions, owned valuable property, and was starting different productive ventures. However, it was a year of severe hardship, with the desperate pleas of the jobless and famished echoing throughout every industrial hub. In London alone, almost half a million individuals were really starving, and the protests of its one hundred thousand unemployed workers were being forcefully crushed by the use of batons and buckshot. Regrettably, cooperation was unable to provide any solution to these issues and had not yet developed the strength to eliminate social suffering. Cooperation was fundamentally based on socialist principles, and the most enthusiastic cooperators were those who identified as socialists. The success of the endeavour plainly highlighted the feasibility of communal ownership and collectivism, however that. At that moment, the maximum capability of the system under a competitive societal structure was achieved. An observation was made on the need for an industrial cooperative society to contend with individual capitalists in order to maintain their membership. Additionally, these co-operative members face the risk of losing their jobs just as often as other workers. Cooperative societies have the objective of offering high-quality goods at fair prices, giving its employees with more free time and higher wages compared to typical retail

workers, and eliminating the need for intermediaries. They achieved only partial success in those objectives. Artisans and those engaged in consistent labour benefited from the availability of high-quality products. However, the majority of unskilled workers were unable to afford such goods and were forced to acquire their essential items from the most inexpensive market. Their investments mostly consisted of decaying animal organs, spoilt vegetables, partially rotten fruit, and low-quality apparel. Unfortunately, the people in London who were most in need of help were unable to access the benefits of cooperation.

The affluent capitalist often had a competitive advantage over a cooperative retailer. Co-operative societies now earned a 5% return on their capital, in addition to distributing dividends. Meanwhile, a 5% profit was considered a substantial income for an individual with significant money. It was said that the removal of intermediaries was seen far more significant to the predatory classes than to the labourers. The guy who spent several pounds each week and saved the percentage that the intermediary would take, always profited more than the one who just spent a few pence each week. Furthermore, it is important to consider that the intermediaries who were removed were often compelled to join the main workforce, hence intensifying competition in the labour market. They did not express dissatisfaction with this; in fact, they saw the elimination of intermediaries and all forms of individual exploitation as an inevitable outcome of economic progress. However, it was important to note that, at that particular moment, it was not entirely beneficial

Any action that aimed to shift the control of wealth creation and distribution from individuals to a collective entity was considered a positive step. Industrial cooperation, as it was defined in the late 1800s, went beyond this objective. The success of the endeavour demonstrated the insignificance of the individual capitalist, while its value in training the workers to independently handle their own matters cannot be overstated. Undoubtedly, its primary claim to sympathy and support was its role as an educational influence, with its ability to bring about a tangible transformation in the socioeconomic circumstances of the bulk of the workers being very limited. Regrettably, a significant number of co-operators were prone to overestimating the latter aspect and neglecting the former. The pursuit of high profits led to a neglect of the core principles of cooperation, since the growth in commerce of these organisations was often seen as undeniable evidence of the improved welfare of the working classes. Thus far, it had not successfully resolved the issues affecting all employees, and a portion of the most impoverished individuals were not included in the solution. It was argued that cooperation had completely replaced the small trader in many areas, and the cooperative society served as the savings bank for thousands of working men. Some fortunate individuals may have eventually become small capitalists, becoming partners in the joint stock society that many of these businesses evolved into. However, those who were less successful may have been forced to constantly withdraw their dividends to supplement their wages, essentially saving money with one hand and spending it with the other. Alternatively, after saving a few pounds, they may have lost their jobs and had to withdraw all their meagre savings, ultimately

falling into poverty within a few weeks or months. During that period, cooperation did not give any assurance or guarantee against the lack of job security for its members, who were adversely affected by the competitive environment in which they operated. Only via universal collaboration, including local, national, and international levels, can a genuine and lasting enhancement in the well-being of the populace be achieved. This collaboration is the aspiration of the pioneers of the labour movement and should be the ultimate goal of co-operators. Christian Socialism, in essence, has the potential to dismantle a social structure that cannot be overcome by ordinary commercial cooperation.

The newspaper included a critique of Thomas Kiekup's publication, titled An Inquiry into Socialism. At that particular period, it was considered a novel of significant worth. The author made a calm and objective effort to present to English readers the goals of socialists, particularly those of the collectivist school. They aimed to articulate the ongoing societal changes that were taking place. The difference in Kirkup's attitude has been rather noticeable since he published a critical review on The Historical Basis of Socialism in England in the 'Academy' only four years ago, or even when he contributed an article on socialism to an edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, as observed by the publication. During the release of his latest book, Kirkup was clearly a socialist in every practical sense. However, he was primarily a scholar of socialism who, through his extensive reading, realised that socialist theories were not mere unrealistic fantasies. He was eager to present the perspectives of a growing political faction in a rational and logical

manner to the educated elite in all civilised nations. The book's exposition of socialism was unquestionably hindered by the omission of a more comprehensive historical analysis, as well as the limited focus on the laws governing economic and social progress, in contrast to the extensive exploration of the practical implications of embracing socialism in both thought and action. Nevertheless, it was said that at that moment there was an opportunity for this specific kind of activity. Kirkup's 'temperate' rebuttal of criticisms against socialism was expected to enlighten many individuals about the 'truth' of their principles. In the opening of the book, Kirkup demonstrates his creative thinking by criticising a particular belief system. He acknowledges its remarkable ability to adapt to different cultures and speaks with the same passion as the esteemed Robert Owen, who unfortunately did not succeed in his endeavours. Kirkup also highlights the efforts of those who worked tirelessly for success, even though they did not live to witness it. He draws attention to the numerous individuals who sacrificed their lives to support this enthusiastic selflessness associated with the "new religion." Furthermore, he points out the suffering that socialists condemn and the aspirations they express. In doing so, he accurately states that the actions of such a movement cannot be expected to adhere to any academic rules.

No, and it is important not to consider any biases, no matter how "respectable" or long-standing they may be. The way Kirkup dismissively remarked about Robert Griffen's attempt to manipulate data to promote the welfare of the working classes may make a more sensitive supporter of capitalism feel embarrassed. In the second chapter, Kirkup raised the question of

whether the individuals who had increasing political power at that time would have willingly accepted the authority of those who had no property or house. They refrained from passing judgement. While Kirkup's analysis of capitalism and his criticism of the excessive socialist condemnation of competition were not groundbreaking, he did provide a correct solution to the problem, despite initially misunderstanding it. Overall, his examination was a clear and unbiased summary of the actual facts of the matter. His comments on the devastating moral decline of nations caused by excessive alcohol consumption and the destructive impact of commercial wars were remarkably scathing, satisfying even the most fervent socialists. He also highlighted the stark contrast between the abundance that could be enjoyed by all and the wastefulness and chaos inherent in the current system of production. Kirkup stated that the theory of socialism posits that the current economic structure, characterised by private capitalists employing wage labour, should be abolished. It argues for the establishment of an economic system where industry is operated with collective capital and by associated labour, aiming for a fair system of distribution

The term 'capital' used here is technically inaccurate, and Kirkup's choice of language suggests that he has not fully rid himself of outdated ways of thinking. Regardless, everything was evident, comprehensible, and presented in a straightforward manner.

An article on women's participation as cooperative workers was published in the Women's Gazette & Weekly News on July 20, 1899. During a period when

there was a particular focus on increasing women's involvement in industrial work, it is worth mentioning an experiment that was started in Yorkshire several years ago. This experiment, which had the support of John Ruskin, was highly successful. It involved a business called William Thomson and Sons, Limited, located at Woodhouse Mills in Huddersfield. The report said that George Thomson, who generously provided them with these details, serves as the manager, with support from a committee including individuals from the British Labour Movement, including workers, cooperative members, and trade union representatives. The firm's membership included 93 workers, 17 cooperative organisations, and 28 individuals who were interested in the movement around the nation. In summary, the criteria governing the distribution of earnings were as follows: firstly, a 5% payment on capital, whether in the form of a loan or shares. After accounting for these expenses and setting aside a reserve fund equal to at least 10% of the capital, the remaining profits were distributed as follows: fiveninths were allocated to each worker who had been employed for six months, based on their earned wages. The remaining four-ninths were used to provide allowances to customers, with the aim of promoting honest trading. This approach extends the benefits of cooperation to the distributors, fostering stronger connections among all parties involved in the business. This leads to consistent employment and fulfils the poet's aspiration.

"Oh God!" We request that no more giants be sent to us.

Enhance the human race

The primary objective of this piece, however, was to highlight the status of women in cooperative enterprises. Thomson said to the publication that they had a workforce consisting of 57 women and girls. He also observed that the ongoing advancements in machines were consistently leading to a reduction in the number of male workers, who were being replaced by either boys or women. Thomson attributed the current state of affairs to the men themselves, who he believed were degraded due to their unhealthy habits such as drinking, smoking, and gambling. According to Thomson, they only employed one married woman who had no family and had been with them for a long time, and perhaps one or two women whose husbands had abandoned them. He strongly opposed hiring married women with families, although he acknowledged that there was ample employment for both married and single women in the weaving industry. Typically, married women who had husbands who refused to accept the salaries of 12 or 15 shillings in this kind of work ended up being the primary earners in the household. Thomson said that they all provided identical terms for profit sharing. When women and men were employed in the same profession, such as weaving, women had less demanding and less complex tasks, resulting in lower wages for them. The maximum salary received by a female employee in the organisation over the previous year, while she was not working full-time, amounted to £45 7s 2.5d. If she had been fully working, she would have received around £10 extra. As a result, she was entitled to collect 50% of the total profit earned by the whole business. If the next year were to be as unfavourable as the previous

one, it would result in a decrease of around 3 percent in overall financial performance. Each individual was allocated shares or balance until they reached a maximum limit of £200.

The Consett Steel Works strike was covered by the Newcastle Daily Chronicle on 24 May, 1890. The Consett Iron Company aimed to maintain a 'passive' stance in response to the strike. The corporation has always supported arbitration boards, organisations, and the implementation of sliding scales, seeing the benefits and advantages they provide. Rather than trying to harm the trade unions, the company has always been enthusiastic in promoting these institutions. It was proposed that the men should have conducted a poll before the strike began, rather than waiting until they had already been on strike for three or four days. The steel workers and gas producers ignored the decision made at a conference of delegates from various steel works in the North of England, which took place in Darlington on 14 May. During the conference, it was agreed that the workers at Consett would continue working until Whit-Saturday, and in the meantime, the issues in dispute would be discussed at a conference between the employers and the workers' representatives in Newcastle. However, since the workers had already gone on strike, very 1 The correspondent perceived that the British Steelmelters Association, a recently established organisation, seemed inclined towards imprudent and impulsive actions. However, as the organisation expands, it is likely that its members will become more skilled in resolving disputes without resorting to extreme measures like strikes and lockouts. According to them, the strike action evoked memories of the 1870's, a time predating the

establishment of any organised groups. According to reports, the key aspect of the entire conflict was that 1,400 workers were made unemployed due to the actions of only two or possibly four individuals. Out of these workers, it is claimed that 1,100 were compelled to stop working against their will as a result of the actions taken by the steel melters, gas producing workers, and other employees at the steel works. More than 800 steel plate mill workers, together with around 250 to 300 mechanics, were all laid off due to a shortage of the essential materials for the smelting furnaces. If the strike persisted, as anticipated for an extended duration, it would be imperative to acquire substantial quantities of plates from sources other than Consett. Given the decline in shipbuilding activities, it was evident that the striking workers would bear the brunt of the consequences within a matter of weeks. Thus, it was contended that it was disheartening to witness that due to the actions of a small group, there had been a significant reduction in the allocation of salaries. In a matter of days, the previously prosperous town of Consett would lose the substantial amount of approximately £2,500 per week, which the company had been paying to its employees as earnings. A workers' assembly was scheduled to occur at the adjacent Co-operative Buildings. Evidently, the correspondent's position was against unions, since they either purposefully or unintentionally disregarded the ideals of mutual assistance within the Labour Movement.

The Liverpool Mercury extensively covered the Trades Union Congress held in Hope Hall in the city on 5 September 1890, dedicating a section of the newspaper to it. The primary subjects included in the discussion

were sailors and the Australian strike, the co-operative movement, emancipation from exploitative employment conditions, a suggested labour exchange, trade unionists and defamation lawsuits, shipowners and the judiciary, and the implementation of an eighthour workday. At 9:30 AM, Mr. Matkin, the congress president, sat down. Accompanying him on the stage were the vice president, John Fiddy, and the secretary, Joseph Goodman, who provided him with crucial assistance throughout the day. During a brief discussion about the minutes of Wednesday's meeting, Mr. Hadow from Glasgow attempted to suspend the standing orders in order to inform the congress that there were journalists in the hall who worked for publications whose owners did not comply with the wages set by the Typographical Society. Although he managed to get a seconder, the resolution was ultimately rejected by the majority of the delegates who did not share his perspective, greatly disappointing him. A matter of procedure was vigorously discussed, but the animosity dissipated when the president hinted that the Sailors and Firemen's Union had pledged £1000 to support the Australian strikers in their fight. The delegates next focused their attention on discussing a resolution about cooperation. Co-operative societies were subjected to criticism by many delegates and supported by others. Finally, Mr. Percival from the North-western division of the Co-operative Union was given the opportunity to speak to the audience. He presented statistical data to demonstrate the significance and robustness of the union. Mr. Quelch and Mr. T. Walker, both residing in London, presented a proposal to create a labour exchange that would be funded by the government. Walker said that several trade associations in England convened in public places. After the disruptions created

by this speech and a disagreement about a rule by the president were resolved, the closure was approved by a vote of 92 to 74. In response, the minority expressed their disapproval by shouting "shame". Resolutions were adopted that addressed the issues of picketing, denouncing the use of foreign crews in loading and unloading ships in English ports, objecting to the use of cheap labour that harmed the firewood cutting industry. supporting the elimination of imprisoning sailors without the option of a fine for disciplinary infractions, and proposing the prohibition of magistrates who own ships or have a vested interest in shipping from presiding over cases involving sailors. Resolutions were made regarding the Merchandise Marks Act and seeking expert legal advice on the laws that pertain to trade union officials taking action against individuals who are believed to be in violation of trade rules. Following this, the congress moved on to discuss the significant topic of the year. The resolution titled "State regulation of working hours" was presented by Mr. G. J. Marks of London, who belonged to the "advanced" faction of the congress, soon before 12 o'clock. The resolution addressed the issue of implementing an eight-hour working day across all industries, with a maximum limit of 48 hours per week. Marks proposed that the most efficient and optimal approach to achieve a decrease in working hours was via the introduction of legislation by the parliament. The president informed Marks that a maximum of 10 minutes would be allocated to those making motions and seconding them, while each of the other speakers would be given five minutes in the next discussion. This restriction was later seen as a prudent decision. Responding to the criticism that the House of Commons may both expand and restrict working hours, the proposer of the

resolution questioned if, when Parliament expanded the right to vote, it was ever suggested that Parliament could limit it to a smaller group. Allowing for an increase in labour representation would significantly enhance the likelihood of enacting legislation on the issue. Mr. A. Matthews, a representative of compositors from London, expressed strong support for the resolution. On the opposing side, Mr. Patterson, a delegate representing miners from Durham, presented an amendment proposing that the trades unions, rather than Parliament, should be responsible for achieving the eight-hour workday. Before Patterson began his remarks, a delegate came up and said that he was aware of the presence of the Mayor of Liverpool in the hall. He suggested that the Mayor be asked to come up to the platform. Many delegates declined in an inelegant manner, but the president halted this inappropriate display by expressing a desire for the Mayor to join the platform, which was enthusiastically supported by the majority of the delegates. However, the Mayor rejected it due to his absence from the hall. A delegate highlighted the attendance of Mr. Cunninghame Graham, MP, who was praised for his advocacy of an eight-hour bill. This elicited several objections, leading to calls for the president to use his authority to appoint and suspend delegates. The concern of this consequence compelled the honourable gentleman's associate to remain silent. Wisely, the president intervened and declared his willingness to meet any member of Parliament on the platform. Delegates vociferously announced the presence of Mr. Plimsoll in the hall, while Mr. John Burne, despite his opposition to the inclusion of a list of distinguished guests, inadvertently contradicted his own suggestion by mentioning the presence of Mr. John Burnett. Despite

the hoots, moans, and applause, Cunninghame Graham remained unfazed as he confidently strode up the hall and took his position on the platform. Subsequently, Patterson was instructed to continue with his address. Patterson, characterised as a commendable representative of the northern region, expressed his opinions on the contentious issue in a straightforward and uncompromising manner. He enquired about the individuals who formed the Parliament. The individuals in question were dukes, lords, colliery owners, and other businessmen who were not involved in the situation. He passionately advocated for a combination of traditional and modern features in the congress, displaying remarkable energy and sincerity. Mr. Snow, representing the blast furnace workers at the congress, supported Mr. Patterson's motion and straightforwardly expressed his disbelief in relying on Parliament to address the concerns of trade unionists, since they were capable of taking action themselves. Mr. Weighill, a representative of the stonemasons from London, supported the implementation of a legally mandated eight-hour workday. It was proposed that arguments in favour and against this idea be presented alternately. The president comprehended the notion and, with the endorsement of the delegates, formally authorised this route

Mr. Parnell, a resident of London, who is heavily bearded and has distinct facial features and sharp eyes, expressed his support for the Eight Hours Bill as the representative of the cabinet manufacturing trades. The speech was well conveyed and received high approval from those who supported the motion. Mr. Knight, a highly experienced trade unionist representing iron ship builders and boilermakers from Dundee, expressed his

belief that working eight hours a day was excessive for certain professions. He questioned whether, if an Eight Hours Bill were to be enacted, workers would be obligated to work the full eight hours and not less. As Knight took a seat, twelve delegates quickly stood up, eager to speak. The president selected Mr. Ben Tillett of London from among them. Despite his pale and youthful appearance, Tillett managed to deliver a lengthy speech within his allotted five minutes. In his speech, he argued for the need to inject more energy into trade unionism and emphasised the importance of unions in shaping public opinion and educating voters. Allow people to allocate their votes to candidates who prioritise the advancement of trade union objectives, rather than just supporting the Tories or the Radicals based on their party affiliation. Mr. Holmes, representing the textile trade unionists from Burnley. said that trade unions seeking assistance from Parliament to achieve what workers are capable of doing independently is an admission of their own lack of strength. Then many more delegates stood up. Priority was granted to Miss Whyte, a woman from London who is a member of the Society of Women engaged in Bookbinding. She expressed her astonishment and scepticism about the morning's discussion on organisation, with a hint of sarcasm in her tone. "I adhere to the principle of voluntarism," she said.

Mr Harvey, a delegate from Derby, who was known for his articulate speaking style, pointed out that the individuals who create Parliaments also have the power to dissolve them. At 1:00, as is customary, the congress adjourned and planned to reconvene one hour later. After the hour had passed, Mr. Davin, representing the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, continued the argument by stating that the council had asked him to support the implementation of a legal eight-hour workday across all industries. Davis, a skilled orator with balanced and precise language, refuted the notion that the choice made by his council was influenced by Socialism, since the individuals involved were not to be categorised as revolutionaries. Mr. Jamieson, a delegate from Durham representing a coalition of miners, expressed his perspective in the following statement: "The essence of the resolution is to disband trade unions and replace them with political organisations." A significant number of the individuals he represented had a workday of six hours, and they failed to see why Parliament should intervene. In some cases, trade unions have decreased the duration of working hours from eleven and twelve hours per day to six and seven hours per day. Mr. Cowey, a miners' representative from Yorkshire, who is tall, broad-shouldered, and has a shrewd expression and expressive gestures, examined Jamieson's statements. He began his remarks by indicating that he believed his opponents' speeches were characterised more by passion than by logical reasoning. According to his enthusiastic statement, he said that an eight-hour workday would not be possible without financial assistance from the government. This was the only means of support they had against the capitalists during times of poor commerce. Mr. Boyle, a delegate representing miners from Northumberland, delivered a powerful speech in which he accused trades outside of his own profession of lacking comprehension of the economic aspects of the issue. Pretending to be a prophet, he confidently predicted that in the near future, John Burns, Ben Tillett, and Tom Mann would acknowledge their mistakes, maybe after many more

congresses. Mr Gould, a representative of joiners from Hull, and Mr. Whitefield, a representative of miners from Bristol, carried on the debate. Later, Mr. T. Paylor, who was sent to the congress by the gas workers of Leeds, also joined the conversation. Paylor said in a shrill voice, with a continuously increasing intonation, that the implementation of the eight-hour work regime in Leeds had resulted in the men being more abstinent, more virtuous, and overall a larger source of pride for the community. Without protection, they risk losing the boon. Amidst resounding demands, Mr. Abraham, a Member of Parliament, was summoned. He addressed the delegates with his melodious voice and a charming smile, informing them that they had the right to vote and could alter the constitution of the House of Commons, Mr. Fearwick, a Member of Parliament and another spokesman of the miners, accurately said that Abraham had elevated the level of discourse in the discussion. He said that the matter being considered should not be limited to only the miners. Instead, it should be seen as a broader issue and analysed from an economic perspective. Mr. Threlfell, a well-known figure in trade unionism and a member of the Southport Trades Council, captivated the whole congress for the duration of his allocated five to six minutes. He was an eloquent speaker, with an extensive vocabulary and a skilful use of language that demonstrated a high level of cultural knowledge. The implementation of an Eight Hours Act was crucial for the preservation of public health. Tramway personnel and shop assistants, who laboured for more than 16 hours a day, were unable to get their excessive working hours reduced via negotiation. The legislation should provide support and protection for these workers. Mr. Thorne, representing the London gasworks, argued that the two options

available were either a strike or the enactment of a parliamentary law. During a speech that was marked by an elaborate and grandiose conclusion, it was apparent that Mr. Ferguson of Greenock, an engineer, had meticulously crafted and practiced his words. He wholeheartedly expressed his support for the amendment. Mr. Burns, who had been receiving regular calls, stood up and, after the commotion caused by the screams of "vote, vote" had subsided, said that he and his colleagues in the engineers' delegation were under a compelling mandate to vote in favour of a legally mandated eight-hour workday. The State technique was accessible to both proficient and unskilled labourers, as well as to individuals from all social strata inside the community. This sentence is taken directly from Burn's speech: "Bill Thorne, a remarkably courageous trade unionist, along with Tom Mann and myself, successfully achieved an eight-hour workday for the gas strokers. However, the dominant force of capitalism has already compelled the workers in Bromwich, Tottenham, Enfield and other locations to revert back to the twelve-hour system. The only effective method to compel the scabs to cease their activities is by initiating a widespread strike." That would likely result in a civil war, which I must admit I support, but not for his intended objective.

When the president signalled the end of Burns' time by ringing a bell, Mr. Granger, who identified himself as being from Birmingham, stepped up. However, a significant percentage of the congress strongly opposed him and he was quickly silenced by the implementation of closure. At 3:45 pm, the president announced that the division should occur within 30 minutes. Upon hearing this, a large group of delegates left the auditorium,

while others objected to their departure. Mr. Davies, a resident of Cardiff, assumed the responsibility and briefly notified the congress that the trades council of that town had appointed him to vote in opposition to the proposed legal legislation. Following him was Mr. Austin, a distinguished gentleman from London, who had a revered, esteemed, and pleasant demeanour. He chose not to categorise the decision of the London engineers as a mandatory directive; rather, he saw it as a mere suggestion. There was a short conflict between him and Burns on this matter, in which Austin was at a disadvantage. Mr. Toyn, being from Saltburn-by-the-Sea, and Keir Hardie, from Lanarkshire, experienced displays of impatience throughout their speeches. Mr. Mosses, a resident of Glasgow, was given a fair opportunity to express his views. He, being a young and intelligent man with exceptional manners, strongly criticised the proposal for a legal eight-hour workday on behalf of the pattern makers in his city. He argued that the proposal is fundamentally harmful, unworkable in practice, and detrimental to the overall welfare of trade unionism. At 4:15 pm, the president posed the question to the congress on whether to proceed with a vote or to continue the debate. There were 170 votes for the former and 104 votes for the latter. Marks used his right to respond and the tellers proceeded to tally the raised hands in favour of it. The outcome of the enumeration was as follows: in favour, 173; against, 181. The success of the congress' pro-legal faction was celebrated with exultant cheers, with John Burns' resonant voice resounding above all, while hats, handkerchiefs, walking sticks, and umbrellas were vigorously waved in the air. After a short period of time, the thrill diminished. Once again, the tellers resumed their responsibility, conducting a vote on the

resolution. After their work was completed, the president announced the results: 193 in favour and 155 against. This announcement reignited the enthusiasm among the attendees. The delegates in the majority enthusiastically shouted, becoming hoarse and exuberantly bouncing on seats and tables, recreating the earlier lively scene. After restoring order, the congress unanimously approved resolutions that called for legislation to combat the sweating system and to expand the space allocated to sailors on board ships. No comments were made on these resolutions. The congress concluded its session at 5pm and will reconvene in the morning to conduct the election of a parliamentary committee and a parliamentary secretary.

Several delegates raised objections due to their lack of comprehension regarding the suggestion made by the standing orders committee on the previous day to limit unnecessary discussion. Mr. J. Wilson clarified that his statement from the previous day indicated that when a resolution is presented without any opposition or amendment, it should be immediately put to the meeting after being moved and seconded. The standing orders committee did not intend to withhold approval for amendments that were proposed. An individual, interjecting, believed that they should be given a chance to voice their disagreement. Wilson, further elaborating, highlighted that no resistance could arise until it was explicitly voiced via an amendment. The standing orders committee requested that, due to the large number of motions, namely 52 included in the schedule for that day, they be presented to the congress immediately and without any debate. A delegate enquired about the regularity of the ongoing debate and expressed concern about its potential to be a mere futile

use of time. The minutes were then presented to the meeting and approved. Shortly thereafter, the president said that the sailors and firemen had contributed £1000 to support the strike in Australia. Additionally, an appeal was made by the Australian strike fund, and subscription forms were distributed. It was expected that every delegate in attendance would use them effectively.

Mr. Tait of Glasgow, representing Mr. H. Slatter, proposed the motion that this congress acknowledges the significance of the principle embodied in the cooperative movement. It believes that when properly implemented, this principle can greatly enhance the situation of the working people in the United Kingdom. Mr. Tait expressed the expectation that these congresses would lead to tangible outcomes rather than just polite gestures. He emphasised the need for real progress and suggested that certain Acts of Parliament, such as those governing trade unions and the co-operative movement. should be modified to allow trade union funds to be used for co-operative production. The co-operative movement has made significant contributions to improving the ethical and social well-being of working men. Consequently, he firmly believes that it is the responsibility of the congress and other comparable assemblies of working people to provide all possible support. Mr. T. Walker expressed his willingness to support the resolution by seconding it, on the condition that the terms "productive and distributive" be used instead. He proceeded to mention the substantial sum of money exclusively used for strikes and advised redirecting this money towards establishing cooperatives, which would aim to improve the situation of the social classes. As craftsmen, their most

advantageous course of action would be to thoroughly examine the principles of cooperation and determine whether they might become experts in their own specific trade, rather than allowing intermediaries and exploiters to claim the profits from their labour.

The president said that representatives from the Cooperative Union approached the congress to request the opportunity to speak, as they had done in previous years. Mr. Percival, from the North-Western division of the Co-operative Union, expressed his satisfaction in meeting the congress that had just approved the resolution presented by Slatter and Tait. These individuals, together with the delegation, are not only colleagues in trade unionism but also in cooperative efforts. He had the belief that through cooperation and trade unionism, the working masses could be uplifted in a manner that no previous movement had achieved. The co-operative societies consisted of around 800,000 to 900,000 households and had distributed over three million in earnings to the workers of the State. Undoubtedly, trade unionists should seriously explore the inclusion of the co-operative movement. He said that the benefits of cooperation and the limited liability system include the potential to uncover capital gains. The awareness of these financial gains has often averted conflicts between employers and employees, therefore safeguarding the workers' earned wealth. Cooperative societies should not only provide the regular salaries of a given area, but also provide a supplementary bonus when distributing earnings. The delegation expressed their gratitude for being voted in and acknowledged for their presence.

Mr. Quelch from London proposed the following resolution: "The congress believes that in order to better organise the vast amount of unorganised labour, unite the already organised labour sections, facilitate communication and information exchange between all industries, and collect accurate employment statistics for the benefit of workers, it is essential to establish and fund a Labour Exchange in every industrial centre in the country, similar to the Paris Bourse du Travail."

Every delegate recognised the critical need for such an institution in every industrial location. The only challenge was around determining the means by which to obtain and sustain such an establishment. In his opinion, the institution should be owned by the municipality, funded by public monies, and overseen by organised labourers for the benefit of organised labourers. The Paris municipality allocated £120,000 for the building of an institution with similar characteristics. Those delegates who had the chance to visit Paris during the Exhibition would undoubtedly be greatly pleased by what they saw in this institution. The municipality supported the institution, and its governance rested solely with the representatives of the trade associations. Mr. Tom Walker, a resident of London, supported the motion and emphasised the urgent need for trade unionists to have their own residences. He pointed out that now, they had to gather in cramped spaces such as back rooms and public places. According to him, the trades council in Liverpool convened in a public establishment, while the London council gathered at a public establishment located on Whitefriars Street. However, the London council had been meeting at that location until two meetings ago, thus their relocation from their longstanding meeting spot was just recent. The lecturer proceeded to demonstrate the benefits of having workmen's gathering places in locations other than public establishments. Moses expressed his intention to make an amendment. However, the chairman rejected it, claiming that it was a blatant contradiction and hence could not be considered as a valid amendment Considerable chaos followed, with several delegates raising points of order. A participant at the meeting advocated for giving young people an opportunity. Another proposal suggested removing some terms, but the president determined that doing so would completely change the meaning of the resolution. The preceding issue was subsequently proposed and supported, and when presented to the meeting, there were 92 votes in favour and 74 votes against.

Considerable animosity persisted, especially among the media, as seen by the Pall Mall Gazette's description on October 25, 1890, of the striking workers at Albert Dock as a "especially unsavoury group of individuals." The newspaper also had a contemptuous view of the Dockers' Union. The West London Observer documented the inauguration of a new Mission Hall on 27 December 1890. The hall, located in Fraser Street, Chiswick, was constructed to support the efforts of Mr. Robert T. Smith, an evangelist, and his team of Christian workers. Despite the unfavourable weather conditions, the opening ceremony drew a sizable and enthusiastic crowd. According to Mr. R. T. Smith's evaluation, he initiated a soup kitchen in relation to the ancient mission, which caught the interest of Mr. and Mrs. Watts. They had acquired the hall as a gift from the Watts. Upon the death of the esteemed Earl of Shaftesbury, immediate action was made to construct a

facility to house their Ragged School. Various friends expressed their satisfaction by making contributions, and Mrs. Watts lay the memorial stone. In 1884, Henry Smith, who has since passed away, donated £26 to ensure that the building could be inaugurated without any outstanding debt. Additionally, Mrs Watts graciously covered the remaining amount needed. During the summer months, religious services were conducted outside Messrs. Thernycroft's works, with preachers provided by the open air mission. In 1887, due to the severe hardship, a charitable fund called the Samaritan fund was formed, along with the provision of breakfasts and inexpensive meals. The backyard was adorned with a bath and a gymnasium, and a committee of women was established to oversee a creche. In 1888, Miss Watts and the Misses Liver started participating in the mother's gathering after purchasing a cottage. Several agencies were established in relation to the mission. In 1889, apart from the day in the countryside that the children had enjoyed thanks to the generosity of their friends, they were able to send 159 young individuals for a two-week stay in the countryside or by the seaside each summer, with the assistance of a union. Boat and coal clubs, as well as ill benefit societies, were established, which, together with other tasks, required the provision of extensive accommodation that is currently accessible. This elicited applause. Mr. R. H. Watts, who was also greeted with enthusiasm, spoke about the strange incident of the evening and expressed his optimism for the continued success of the ongoing effort. Subsequently, he bestowed upon Mr. Smith an illustrated address, exquisitely framed and produced, accompanied with a pocketbook containing £40. The address stated that on the occasion of opening the new

Mission Hall, the friends and supporters of the Chiswick Mission recognised the significant contributions of Mr. Robert Thomson Smith to the cause of Christ and the well-being of the impoverished residents in the area. We acknowledge that Mr. Smith's exceptional organisational skills, with the help of divine intervention, have enabled him to garner the support and collaboration of numerous workers in order to effectively manage the different departments of the mission. It is thanks to his dedicated enthusiasm that the mission has expanded to its current significant size and level of effectiveness. It gives us great pleasure to present Mr. Smith with a bag of gold as a symbol of our gratitude for his loyal efforts. "We, Martha Watts, John Donaldson, and John J. Thernveroft of Chiswick, have signed our names as friends and supporters of the mission on 26 December 1890."

Smith expressed his sincere gratitude to them for their kind gifts. The motion put up by Reverend A. R. Shrewsbury, and seconded by Reverend W. C. Preston, expressed gratitude to Mr and Mrs Watts for their kind donation of the new hall. The Chairman, on behalf of the attendees, handed an enlarged photograph of Mrs Watts to her, and one of Mr Watts to him. The Rev. K Miller, with the support of the Rev Nevison Loralne, proposed expressing the utmost gratitude of the meeting to Messrs Thernycroft and Donaldson for their dedicated involvement in the mission hall for approximately 8.5 years, as well as for their ongoing financial assistance that enables the continuation of the work

Mr. John Kirk, the secretary of the Ragged School Union, proposed that the assembly commit to provide more assistance to the mission in its expanded endeavours. This proposal was also approved, and the Rev. A. W. Walker concluded the meeting with a prayer. The offertory, which was collected to support the Endowment Fund for the Kindergarten Creche, totalled £5 7s. Mr. Powell, a resident of Bedford Park, constructed the meticulously designed new hall. Mr. C. P. Edwards, an architect from Hadlsigh House, Rivercourt Road, Hammersmith, who was renowned for his involvement in temperance and charitable causes, passed away on the preceding Thursday. The chairman expressed his condolences for this unfortunate incident in a heartfelt manner. Mr. J. T. Campbell from Kensington delivered a sermon in the Mission Hall in the afternoon. Following that, there was a children's service led by Walker. In the evening, Kirk took charge of the group.

On January 30, 1891, the Whitby Gazette documented the annual members' meeting of the Jet Operatives' Cooperative Association, which was organised by the Whitby Working Men's Co-operative & Industrial Society. The meeting took place at the Foresters' Hall, located on Church Street. They were presented with the 100th quarterly report. Mr. John Headlam, the President of the Society, presided over the meeting, which was well-attended by members. The given report indicated that the revenues for the previous quarter totalled £2,960 1s 6d, reflecting a £231 11s 10d increase compared to the previous quarter. Throughout the quarter, the society had a net increase of 8 members, with 23 individuals joining and 15 individuals withdrawing. As a result, the total number of members

recorded in the society's records is now 724. After deducting the customary expenses, the remaining disposable balance provided a dividend of 2 shillings per pound on purchases made by members and 1 shilling per pound on purchases made by non-members. In a brief statement, the president announced the successful implementation of the new accounting system for the year's transactions. The auditors' report praised the Society for its commendable performance. The Secretary and Treasurer were praised for their proficient bookkeeping skills, and it was remarked that auditing the accounts was a delightful experience. They deemed the Society to be in a prosperous financial state and extended their congratulations accordingly. The president said that the Committee had received a message from Mr. Godfrey Hirst on the establishment of the Whitby Jet Workers' Co-operative Association. Mr. Hirst requested the Society's collaboration in this initiative by investing in shares. Hirst had sought assistance from the businessmen in the town, and he also made a similar request to the Society. The intention was for it to operate based on cooperative principles, similar to their own civilisation, which had undeniably achieved considerable success. The last matter to address was the contributory aspect that they, as cooperatives, would assume, should they consider acquiring any shares. The president believed that supporting the movement may potentially benefit the jet industry to some extent. However, their primary concern was ensuring that the movement was started with competent individuals in key positions, such as a capable president, secretary, treasurer, and a reliable working committee, in whom they could trust. If the members of the co-operative society were willing to support this emerging movement, they might

potentially play a crucial role in improving the current state of the aviation industry. If they endorsed the initiative and acquired shares, it is quite likely that other cooperatives would follow suit, leading to the creation of a new market for the sale of jet items. These goods would be prominently promoted in the draperies sections of such organisations. Nevertheless, if the new endeavour did not achieve the level of success they anticipated, they could not feel any remorse for their attempt to elevate the trade from its existing state at that time. A significant number of individuals involved in the aviation industry were experiencing unfavourable circumstances at that period. They were aware of labourers who would go out every Saturday night in an attempt to sell their products, but were compelled to accept whatever price they could obtain in order to provide food for their wives and children. If they were to adhere to the established principles, he believed it was incumbent upon them as a collective to take action and provide assistance. A member expressed their desire for the plan to be led by individuals of high social standing in the community, together with a reliable and financially secure treasurer. As someone who is not employed in the aviation industry, he would have preferred a conference that included a broader range of participants. Collaboration was the fundamental premise of their society, and if the members of this cooperative society were willing to invest in shares, it would undoubtedly lead to significant progress. This would instill trust in other cooperative organisations in the State. They were unable to effectively persuade other societies in the nation to invest in this movement, since it became evident that the society at home had little interest in it. People in the nation would not start the business if people at home did not do so. He believed that was a commendable goal. The workers were very impoverished and had significant challenges in obtaining enough cash due to the banks' reluctance to lend to them.

The Morning Post published an article on February 20, 1891, on a meeting of the Court of Common Council at Guildhall, which was chaired by the Lord Mayor of London. The Joint Committee of the "Founders of the World's Labour Exhibition, 1891 and of the Delegates of Trade Unions and Workers' Co-operative Societies" submitted a petition to the court requesting the use of a chamber in the Guildhall. The purpose of this request is to hold an adjourned meeting for the following reasons: (1) to conduct the proceedings of a provisional committee and (2) to pass resolutions that involve appointing a permanent committee from the delegates of 50 trade and other co-operative societies in the metropolis, as well as considering the establishment of a Central Labour Exchange for the Metropolis.

On February 28, 1891, Justice said that the secretary of the Bakers' section of the International Federation of all Trades and Industries was clearly committed to ensuring that the poorly compensated journeymen bakers would not continue to endure their lowly status any longer than necessary. The head office has published a manifesto to the workers of London, urging them to endorse a co-operative bakery. The secretary aimed to generate £500 by selling shares valued at 5 shillings apiece. The shares would not accrue any interest, but would be promptly refunded. All transactions will be conducted only in cash. The

workers were expected to work eight hours per day at a rate of 9d per hour, resulting in a weekly wage of 36s. Additionally, all overtime and Sunday work would be eliminated. The circular provided intriguing details on co-operative bakers around the continent. The 'Vooruit' bakery in Ghent was said to have a price tag of 200,000 francs (£8). The daily working hours were limited to eight, with salaries set at a 25% premium compared to the average pay in the baking industry in Ghent. Additionally, less manual contact was involved in the bread manufacturing process. The bakery uses technological advancements to produce bread efficiently, enabling them to produce 100 loaves every 17 minutes. However, each loaf is kept in the oven for 45 minutes to guarantee complete cooking. The 'Vooruit' produced 43,000 loaves of bread per week. The society had around 18,000 clients each day, out of a total population of 131,000. The bread is completely devoid of any adulteration.

Many other towns, which have now become large cities, such as Brussels, Antwerp, Johmont, Liege, Verviers, and others, have successfully followed the pattern established by 'Vooruit'. The establishment of the Brussels Co-operative Bakery dates back to 1882. The capital was £17 divided into 8 shares, with no interest or profit. Commencing with a basement for a bakery and a loyal clientele of 52 individuals, they persevered and achieved such success that four years later they were able to acquire the expansive facilities which they named the 'Maison du Peuple'. According to the study, they were producing 35,000 loaves each week and had an annual turnover of £120,000. Amidst the miners' strikes in the coal regions of Belgium, regular trains of food were sent everyday to the striking

workers, along with significant amounts of money. This was established as a model for the bakers of Great Britain. Justice would go on to report on 18 April 1891 that the scheme for a co-operative bakery, which originated under the auspices of the International Federation of all Trades and Industries, was ripe for practical support and the circular from which they gave extracts to a few weeks earlier, was being sent around requesting those who wish to take shares and also give their continuous support, to send in their names to the secretary of the Workers' Co-operative Productive Association, 64 Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, London N.E. The scheme had the sanction and hearty approval of the Executive of the London Trades Council, who unanimously adopted the following resolution; "That the Executive of the London Trades Council having duly considered the prospectus of the Workers' Co-operative (Productive) Association, heartily approves the proposals therein set forth for starting co-operative bakeries in the interest of the workers and commends the movement to the moral and pecuniary support of the industrial population of the metropolis." At the same time in Vienna, 5,000 bakers were on strike

The South London Press further elaborated on the matter and said that anyone who wanted to show their support for the difficulties faced by working men were given a chance to express their compassion in a tangible manner on behalf of one of the most oppressed groups of working men on 16 May 1891. They could do so with the support and guidance of the newly established International Federation of all Trades and Industries, namely the Workers' Co-operative (Productive) Association. A proposal was made to raise

£500 in shares for the bakers of South London, with each share priced at 5s. To ensure that individuals who claimed to genuinely want to help improve the working class could do so without any suspicion of self-interest, it was decided that no dividends would be given to shareholders. The shares would be promptly reimbursed from the business's earnings. Subsequently. the earnings would be allocated first towards expanding the firm and secondarily towards advancing the interests of labour as a whole. They were unwilling to take on the duty of ensuring the safety of the money invested in the firm. However, they said that there was clearly no reason why it couldn't be successful if managed with modest competence and integrity. A temporary committee, comprised mostly of trade union members, had been established. The bakers' endeavour was highlighted in the Lichfield Mercury on 22 May 1891. The article stated that the project organisers had taken a practical approach by establishing the bakers' section of the worker co-operative association, thus putting their principles and theories to the test. The core idea they had chosen to follow was that members should only get salaries that were honestly earned. without any additional payments such as interest, profit, or other forms of compensation, above the initial value of their shares. All employees of the organisation would be required to work more than 48 hours per week, and their compensation would be based on the trade union's wage scale. If the organisation is dissolved, no contributor shall get an amount more than the precise cost they paid to acquire the shares. Any kind of interest, increase in value, or profit should be completely disregarded. The extra revenues were intended to be used for the overall advantage of the producing classes as a whole. The bakers' association

was also featured in the Nuneaton Observer on the same day, as well as in the Croydon Chronicle and East Surrey Advertiser on May 23, 1891.

Mr. E. Fookes, the secretary of the Amalgamated Tinplate Workers' Co-operative Society, clarified in the Birmingham Daily Post on 2 September 1891 that the resolution to be presented at the upcoming Trades Congress, concerning a proposed amendment of the Trade Union Act 1876, was a notice of motion that he had given independently and not on behalf of his society. Although workers' co-operation in an effort to eliminate the class conflict had seen development and got favourable attention, instances of gross indecencies among individuals continued to occur in other places. An article in Reynolds's Newspaper on September 13, 1891, discussed a unique occurrence of labour exploitation at a linen factory in Northern Ireland. The article mentioned a £1 prize being offered to the girl with the highest weekly wage. The girls worked diligently, resulting in a greater output of work overall. Subsequently, a notification was sent stating that the employees would be required to increase their productivity within a certain timeframe compared to previous expectations, and those who were unable to meet this new level were terminated. This occurred in a region of Ireland that was characterised by the newspaper as "loyal, prosperous, and contented," which the Coercionists often used as a model to be admired. The suppression of unions continued, and this edition provides specific information about various conflicts and strikes

A meeting on "trade co-operation" was held on 4 October 1891 at the Memorial Hall, Farringden Street. The purpose of the meeting was to promote the Workers' Co-operative society's scheme of forming cooperative associations among various trades. The meeting had a large attendance and aimed to benefit labour in general. Mr. Fred Hammill of the Bus and Tram Union became the chair, with the backing of Mr. George Shipton of the London Trades Union and other notable trade unionists. The chairman, at the beginning of the meeting, said that their goal was to introduce a plan of collaboration that would, via growth and with the help of the workers themselves, ensure that the profits generated by their labour would directly benefit them. Approximately eleven months before, he attended a conference in the East-end of London with bakers, who were perhaps the lowest-paid workers in England. Several individuals were employed for meagre compensation, ranging from 2s 6d to 3s 6d per week, for a total of 112 hours of labour each week. According to Mr. F. Gilles, the Workers' Co-operative association was established as a result of the displeasure expressed by the journeymen bakers, which had been initiated some time earlier London had around 16,000 journeymen bakers, with over half of them being foreigners who were not affiliated with any association. It was discovered that this task could only be accomplished via collaboration. Gilles, I will explain the functioning of co-operative bakery societies, where the profits are used for the benefit of labour in general. All work is conducted based on trade union principles. A resolution was passed in favour of adopting the cooperative system for the society, and the meeting ended. According to Reynold's Newspaper, Hamill expressed the view that any profits generated should be

allocated to the workers rather than the capitalists. Gilles presented statistical data to demonstrate the profitability of investing in the bakeries. The article also covered the proceedings of the annual general meeting of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (Limited), which took place in the large hall of the C.W.S (Co-operative Wholesale Society), located on Leman Street in Aldgate. Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, who was greeted with enthusiastic applause, stated that he was present at the meeting as a supporter of cooperation. He believed that the members should be pleased with the progress made by their Association in promoting cooperation. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of the educational scheme outlined in their report and urged them to continue advancing in that direction. Mr. Nicols, the principal organiser of the Dockers' Union for Agricultural Labourers, emphasised the need of disseminating books among the agricultural workers as a method of providing education.

The first assembly of a novel workers' cooperative association took place in the Clarence Hotel, Aldersgate Street, as documented by Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper on 15 November 1891. Mr. John Beasly, the leader of the Cabdrivers' Union, presided over the meeting. The chairman said that the initiative was initiated with the aim of improving the circumstances of the bakeries in London. A significant number of these individuals were required to labour for 15 to 18 hours every day in exchange for a weekly remuneration of 18 shillings. The majority of individuals were employed on Sundays, which is considered a sacred day. Gilles, acting as the secretary at the meeting, said that they had obtained the endorsement of several trade unions including bakers, boot manufacturers, upholsterers,

matchmakers, vestry workers, carpenters and joiners, stick and cane makers, compositors, tailors, rough stuff cutters, and others. He mentioned once again a thriving co-operative bakery in Ghent and said that the committee, with the backing of trade unionists, intended to construct co-operative bakeries in the densely populated areas of the city. The first bakery would be launched promptly once the 5s shares issued reached a total of £500. After the report and balance sheet were presented and approved, and office bearers were chosen, the meeting concluded.

An article in the Edinburgh Evening News on December 5, 1891, discussed the prospectus of 'The Workers' Co-operative Omnibus Society, Limited'. The correspondent had lately obtained a copy of this document. According to him, it had too much "eloquence". The Society was established to be owned and controlled by its members, who must be legitimate members of trade organisations and known supporters of labour. The Society aimed to place labour in a position of dignity and freedom, rather than being enslaved by wages. The prospectus also mentioned that it was easy to understand the determination of London bus drivers to free themselves from the tyranny and degradation imposed by capitalist companies since the recent strike. The shares in the company were priced at £1 each and would not generate any interest or profit. The funds would be subsequently reinvested into the earnings.

In an article titled 'Gossip From the Labour World' published on 11 December 1891, The Manchester Weekly Times said that the individuals behind the

omnibus society proposal were clearly businessmen, since they had initiated the necessary actions. The rationale for the 'intriguing' endeavour was attributed to the fact that over 1,530 individuals had been released, a significant number of whom had served for 10, 15, and 20 years. Tyranny was said to have been carried out in every conceivable manner, and those responsible were ultimately dismissed and their reputations tarnished on trivial and unsubstantial grounds. Dividend seekers were expected to avoid the endeavour since it was declared that no interest would be paid on the £1 shares. Instead, the money would be paid when the enterprise made profits. However, those who were willing to financially support progressive ideas might consider doing so for the Co-operative Omnibus Society, which aimed to combat exploitative labour practices. Their goals included paying trade unions fair wages, avoiding overtime work, implementing an eight or nine-hour workday, providing retirement benefits for older members, and attracting public support by offering improved comfort and convenience. The objective was commendable and the first preparations were satisfactory. However, despite the shares being freely subscribed, there was always the risk of the large London corporations, like other major firms often did, lodging complaints to restrict the workers' enterprise. T. R. Threlfall, the secretary of the Labour Electoral Association of Great Britain and Ireland, said that he had enough empathy with the effort to invest as a stakeholder. According to Reynolds' Newspaper on December 13, 1891, the company was established with the support of the Amalgamated Omnibus and Tram Workers' Union, led by Fred Hammill, and was located at 30 Fleet Street, London, E.C. The Dundee Courier also reported on December 15, 1891, that cooperative

principles were being implemented in the transportation industry.

On December 26, 1891, the Leicester Chronicle documented a conference attended by representatives from co-operative societies and trade unions. The purpose of the conference was to listen to and discuss a paper presented by Mr. John Arnold of Woolwich, which focused on finding effective methods to strengthen the relationship between co-operation and trade unions. The conference was chaired by Mr. G. Evans and organised by the Leicester District Association of Co-operative Societies. There was a significant turnout. The chairman remarked that the topic of the meeting was now receiving significant attention and he anticipated that their convening that afternoon will provide tangible benefits. He mentioned the prevailing notion among the working classes that strongly favoured purchasing the cheapest item. In his perspective, this action was against the genuine objectives of trades unionism, since it also tarnished the reputation of co-operative organisations. Individuals embraced the notion that they might get items at a lower cost from other locations rather than from the institutions of the cooperative groups. The primary goal of co-operators was to educate people about the importance of purchasing high-quality products. They were aware that the cheapest item frequently turned out to be the most expensive in the long run. According to him, the trade unions and co-operatives were primarily focused on enhancing the well-being of the general population. To achieve this, they aimed to educate the people about their beliefs and encourage them to disregard inferior products, instead opting for reliable and ethical goods. Both the co-operatives and trade

unions would profit from this. Mr. Carter subsequently perused Arnold's paper in lieu of Arnold's absence. The study began by providing definitions of both cooperation and trade unionism, and then analysed the areas of agreement and disagreement between these two approaches. The writer said that both capital and labour comprehend the dynamics of their relationship and have a mutual desire to enhance the circumstances of their respective classes. Cooperative distribution has consistently proven to be a reliable source of security. In numerous cases, it has served as the primary means of support during times of unemployment and lack of income. By relying on the accumulated dividends from the cooperative store and utilising the out-of-work benefits provided by the union, individuals were able to alleviate the hardships of poverty. The promotion, early development, and solid maturity of several co-operative shops may be attributed to trade unionists who, in accordance with their union ideals, effectively enhanced their own circumstances via the use of unions. This demonstrates their belief in the principles of co-operation. What specific aspects do they vary in? I have previously mentioned that there is a consensus between trade unions and cooperation when it comes to cooperative distribution. However, many trade unionists have a perception that the implementation of cooperation in labour entails a significant and unpredictable transformation, which leads them to view it as speculative and risky.

Following more comments, the article on to state that it is reasonable to expect that collaboration will not only provide workers with fair salaries, but also provide them a proportional percentage of the remaining earnings. This scenario aligns perfectly with trade

union principles. However, if these workers, who are members of a trade union, were to become shareholders in the factory where they work and the business incurred a loss, resulting in the need to reduce wages to cut production costs, would the union permit its members to work for less than the standard pay rate in the area? It is important to note that such wage reductions would not be widespread in the region, but rather a consequence of specific local factors such as poor management or unfavourable market conditions. It is possible that the members in such a position, who have a financial stake as shareholders in addition to their salary, might be ready to accept a decrease in order to overcome a brief economic downturn. This would not only help them individually, but also benefit the organisation in which they are partners. Can a trade union experience similar behaviour from its members or require those members to leave the environment in order to maintain their membership in the union? Would a trade union see positively any of its members who had a financial stake in a cooperative workplace that offered salaries high enough to exclude others from being eligible to join the union? I must emphasise that I am unaware of any situation when collaboration has not resulted in the payment of union rates. However, it is conceivable that such a scenario may arise given their current association. How can the disparity be addressed? 1 - Through collaboration, acknowledging the principles of trade union salaries and implementing trade union hours. It is possible that mentioning rates of compensation and hours worked is not relevant when considering how cooperation acknowledges trade unions. Nevertheless, if they are to be united, there should be no such separation. We want to see cooperation not only being recognised as a generator of wealth, but also as a model to the global community, demonstrating that integrity in commerce is rewarding. We are often reminded that high-quality materials and skilled craftsmanship are the most cost-effective options. To achieve the desired level of workmanship, it is necessary to pay fair wages. Trade unionists, who work together in a cooperative manner, may embrace the concept of self-help via this expanded union. 2 - by the affiliation of trade unionists with co-operative organisations, therefore gaining knowledge and understanding of co-operative principles. By not just becoming members, but actively participating in frequent and comprehensive purchases, individuals demonstrate their commitment to their organisation and set an example for others. Trade unionists are the individuals who should consistently demonstrate loyalty to cooperation. By joining forces and collaborating, they have been able to earn earnings that would have been impossible to achieve via individual endeavours. With a substantial amount of money to defend against any potential assault on the position they acquired via significant work and expense, they should confidently choose to endorse cooperation. For what reason?

The notion of cooperation is fair, equitable, and fundamentally distinct from the adversaries that trade unions must confront. The trade unionist advocates for high-quality materials and craftsmanship while working for an employer and legitimately demands equitable compensation. Allow him to demonstrate his steadfastness and commitment to this idea by supporting his less privileged siblings who toil for little wages and endure gruelling hours of employment, all while without the opportunity to organise a union for

their own safeguarding. May every trade unionist nationwide pledge to refrain from purchasing any goods from the jumper or those who support them, opting instead to exclusively support their own establishments. If any sweated goods are found in their own store, they must accept their share of responsibility as a member. It is imperative that co-operators or trade unionists do not contribute to the purchase of these detested products, for the sake of the victims of the jumper. The merger of labour and capital might be achieved and accelerated without the need for a Royal Commission by implementing a change in our socioeconomic situation. 3 - Through the collaboration of co-operators and trade unionists, social and intellectual unions are created to facilitate gatherings. entertainment, discussions, and the exchange of ideas, with the objective of building a more enduring connection between labour and capital. Unions or clubs of this kind would greatly contribute to the process of eliminating obstacles and laying the foundation for trade unions and cooperation to establish a more intimate relationship, which is very desired.

Ultimately, the writer asserted that the significant expansion of the co-operative movement indicated a high likelihood that work will be conducted in a cooperative manner in the future. Will trade unions collaborate with co-operatives and, via careful and prudent methods, become their own employers? I believe they will. With over 30 years of experience as a trade unionist and 20 years of experience as a co-operator, I have come to the conclusion that although the journey may be arduous and challenging, with inevitable setbacks along the way, these setbacks are merely opportunities for growth. However, if we

approach the task with a mindset of compromise and resolve, our future generations will reap the rewards of our efforts.

Mr. Rawthorn initiated the conversation by expressing his belief that distributive societies should provide more support to productive societies than they already do. Mr. Wakeley observed that working-class individuals vehemently complained about their poor income. However, when they received their pay on Saturdays, they actively sought out the most affordable goods, which were only available due to the little compensation for their efforts. He advocated that the working classes should only purchase high-quality commodities that were manufactured by wellcompensated workers. Mr. Lloyd believed that working men have the necessary skills and abilities to engage in business and become self-employed, as they had already shown their capability in organising and operating successful benefit societies. The only obstacle to their action was their own shyness. He believed that trade unions were too fragmented and advocated for their consolidation. By aligning cooperators and trade unions, they could effectively promote the interests of the working classes, as long as they used their influence responsibly. Mr. Clarke conveyed his immense satisfaction at the convening of the conference. The meeting, which would not have been possible a few years ago, was a source of tremendous encouragement for him. He was aware that a joint committee had been established to resolve any conflicts that could develop between productive societies and trades unions. Many working men in the past believed in a perceived conflict between trade unionism and co-operation, but this was merely a

fanciful notion. However, the misconception is gradually being dispelled. He desired for trade organisation leaders to participate in the administration of productive societies. By doing so, they would see that there are more challenges to face than they would anticipate, especially when they are only in the role of workers' leaders. The co-operators sought to increase the number of members in their distributive societies. but they specifically desired reliable and successful trading members. They believed that if they could persuade trade unionists to join the co-operative movement, both parties would profit mutually. Trade unionists were familiar with organisation, and during times of hardship, these individuals would demonstrate more resilience than others and remain loyal to their communities until the challenges were overcome. After Mr. Mort finished speaking, Mr. Holmes of the Hosiery Union expressed their need for focus. Their objective was to eliminate disparities in order to achieve closer proximity. He firmly believed that eventually, trades unionism will be assimilated into the co-operative movement due to its inherent appeal. His argument was that both bodies had the same aims in mind and had the same interests at stake. He strongly disapproved of the mistrust that often arose among their colleagues while discussing or introducing cooperative concepts into commerce. At times, such as in the situation involving the gas workers, these concerns were valid. However, when there was no basis for these accusations, they were regrettable. The notion of co-operation and unity is inherently beneficial and valuable. He agreed with Mr. Clarke's viewpoint that trade unionists lacked a thorough understanding of the complexities of commerce. The objective was to find trades unionists who would collaborate with the co-operative

movements, actively participate in them, assume roles within them, and contribute to their operations. Upon doing such actions, they would swiftly encounter the challenges that confront both workers and cooperative societies. Mr. Holmes concluded by expressing his optimism that the cooperative approach will ultimately replace all the current inefficient ways of resolving conflicts. Mr. Slater argued that collaboration and collective production were the only resolution to the issue of labour. Labour has long been lingering on the fringes of labour, consistently criticising and denouncing it. It was time for workers to assume control of industry. Mr. Porter believed that cooperative organisations involved in manufacturing should compensate trades unionists at fair rates and provide a portion of the earnings to their employees. Alternatively, trade unionists can strive to buy their commodities from distributive societies that adhere to the same working standards. Mr. Newell furthered the conversation, while Mr. Brown encouraged cooperative societies to only get goods that were manufactured in compliance with trade union ideals. After Mr. Court spoke, Mr. Bastard expressed their desire to emphasise to trade unions the advantages of distributive co-operation. Practically speaking, if individuals had children, this would result in a weekly income boost of 2 seconds. Additionally, they would get cash payments. The increased illumination of the residence would subsequently prompt and expedite the engagement of labourers in the process of generating and using their own resources, a development that they all really desired to occur expeditiously. He was really satisfied with the positive remarks made regarding things produced via sweat labour. He was concerned that only a small number of individuals took the time to

verify if the things they purchased were produced under exploitative labour conditions, a practice known as "sweating". He was worried that this lack of scrutiny extended to both co-operators and non-cooperators. He was certain that the outcome of the conference would be outstanding and he anticipated that it would encourage more unionists to join distributive cooperative groups. Mr. Harrot proposed the establishment of a unified council consisting of individuals from co-operatives and trade unions. This council would have the responsibility of overseeing both groups. He then presented a resolution suggesting the formation of a joint committee to represent trade unionists and co-operators in the district, with the goal of fostering closer collaboration between the two. Holmes seconded the resolution

Mr. Gamble and Mr. Taylor were the subsequent speakers, with the latter endorsing the creation of a printing facility that would be jointly operated by cooperators and trade unionists. This facility would cater to the needs of both parties. Mr. Meed highlighted Mr. Gladstone's address in Wirral and noted that the former Prime Minister said that although cooperative distribution had greatly benefited the working class, he believed that the ultimate goal would be cooperative production. Mr. Gent, Mr. Clayton, and Mr. G. Green proceeded with the debate. The previous speaker expressed confidence that the Trades Council would endorse the implementation of the resolution put up by Mr. Harrot. If the Co-operative Society were to request sending representatives to that Council, he felt certain that such a proposal would be thoroughly deliberated. He agreed with the notion that it is beneficial for working men to join and engage in distributive

societies. Currently, meanwhile, a significant number of these individuals were under the control of tiny retailers, possessing "books", and seeking assistance to escape their current predicaments.

Subsequently, Mr. Yates and other speakers spoke, and the resolution was unanimously approved. It was decided that the joint Council would be composed of 12 co-operators and 12 trade unionists. Additionally, a temporary court was established to oversee the implementation of the decision and the formation of the new body's constitution. The session concluded after many expressions of gratitude were conveyed. Subsequently, tea was served to the delegates.

On January 16, 1892, the Leicester Chronicle reported in their 'The Voice of Labour' section that a group of troublemakers, who presented themselves as 'revolutionaries', were successfully recruiting impoverished immigrants. However, it was observed that when a general election was imminent, a concerning revelation would influence people to vote in a particular way. Was the individual who possessed £100 considered a capitalist? According to certain discontented individuals, it has been alleged that he was. During a gathering of the Metropolitan bus drivers in Deptford, convened to support the Workers' Cooperative buses, the chairman said that a retired bus driver had contributed £20 from his own funds to the new venture. One member of the audience, who has likely had a disappointing experience with luck, then exclaimed, "He must have been a dishonest person, otherwise he wouldn't have obtained it." This comment seemed to provoke a strong and justified anger, and

another individual confronted the interrupter by asserting his own honesty and revealing that he had managed to save £100. In a state of awe, he confidently walked towards the platform, retrieved a bag, and gravely counted £100, which he intended to put in the Workers' Co-operation Bus Company. The co-operators were very pleased with the backing they received from the leaders of the 'New (Trade) Unionism' for their campaign. Encouraged by their achievement, they suggested making repeated efforts to actively engage trades unions in a realistic way.

On February 13, 1892, Justice announced that the second general meeting of the Workers' Co-operative (Productive) Society, Limited occurred at the Clarence Hotel, Aldersgate Street, E.C. During the meeting, it was decided to dispatch delegations to various labour organisations throughout London and to divide the city into districts, each with its own local committee to carry out organised work. The Stratford Enterprise Working Men's Club and Institute received a delegation from the WCPS, during which around 20 membership applications were submitted. The Leeds Times' 'The Voice of Labour' column on 27 February 1892 asserted that labour had its rights alongside wealth. The statement suggests that work seldom faces the possibility of receiving more than the bare minimum that may be extracted from capital. It also emphasises the need of labour expressing itself whenever it is wise to do so. It has been claimed that the Workers' Cooperative Omnibus Society has constructed six buses that were intended to be deployed on the streets of London. They would embark on their earliest endeavours in assisting John Burns in County Council tasks. In an article published on 28 February 1892,

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper documented the first testing of the initial omnibus owned by the cooperative at 30 Fleet Street. It was anticipated that the service would commence the following month.

In an article published in the Irish Independent on 29 February 1892, Mr. Homer said that the most effective strategy to remove the exploited individuals from the tailoring industry in Britain was via the use of cooperation. He cautioned them that the cooperative would not be able to hire all of them simultaneously, but if they could assign two or three hundred individuals to work initially, the other ones would not be left without employment. He was warned that he should not be shocked if the movement led the masters to agree to the 10% demand.

According to an article in The People on 6 March 1892, it was noted that at the same time a new bus operated by the Workers' Co-operative Omnibus Society was seen on the streets of London, the London General Omnibus Company issued a notice. The notice stated that due to ongoing complaints about drivers not noticing or stopping for passengers, the company's directors had decided to take strict action against such cases. In the future, when the conductors were instructed to participate in the committees about their poor pay, the drivers would accompany them and face similar treatment. According to Mr. Hall, the managing director, it has been seen that the conductors and drivers are reluctant to stop when signalled by the public, despite the fact that the vehicles they operate have enough space available. This behaviour change occurred after the implementation of the ticket system.

He did not just depend on the reports of his subordinates, but instead personally verified that it was really true. Once the guys got control of the pennies, they were eager to collect the fares. It was said that they were completely devoid of worry over the matter. The term 'poor earnings' purportedly referred to a situation where one bus on a certain route had a daily income ranging from £2 to £3, whereas another bus on the same route only made, for example, 30 shillings. The management expressed curiosity and requested an explanation for the disparity. Following the implementation of the ticket system, several complaints were received about the failure of the men to stop. In some instances, the drivers and conductors were summoned before the committee. Nevertheless, no guy has ever been removed solely on that basis. Nevertheless, a few individuals had received warnings, while others were temporarily suspended. Men were sacked for committing significant violations such as failing to collect fees, issuing tickets that had previously been used, charging exorbitant rates, displaying impudence towards customers, and more. Regarding the co-operative buses, Hall expressed his preference for not having competition. However, he acknowledged that the men were completely right in using their own funds to provide and operate the vehicles. There was clearly no valid complaint to their actions. The company's meeting was scheduled for the next day, during which several topics, including the ones mentioned above, would be discussed. Simultaneously, the London Omnibus Carriage Company issued a comparable notice expressing dissatisfaction with the lacklustre efforts of their drivers and conductors in attracting passengers. They warned that if there was no significant improvement, they

would be compelled to either go on strike or implement a general wage cut. Therefore, it is evident that the situation in that particular field of work remained unsatisfactory, notwithstanding the adjustments that had been made in terms of higher earnings and reduced working hours. The males had a strong aversion towards the ticket system.

The Newcastle Daily Chronicle published an article on March 28, 1892, detailing the inauguration of the newly constructed building for the Jarrow and Hebburs Cooperative Society. The event was attended by a significant number of supporters and sympathisers of the movement. Mr. Holyoake, who has gained considerable fame, delivered a speech on the topics of work and profit. He was enthusiastically welcomed and said that according to the traditional story, amusement and seriousness were brought into this world simultaneously. If seriousness had arisen in isolation, the world would have been too monotonous, rendering it uninhabitable. Conversely, if laughter had emerged independently, everything would be characterised by triviality, hindering productivity and eventually causing mirth to lose its vitality. The organising team of the event considered this and had made arrangements for him to participate in the main portion of the gathering and then perform in the concert to revitalise and acknowledge them. Bede, considered the most eminent figure of his day, achieved lasting fame and brought renown to Jarrow, despite the passing of twelve centuries that had seen the rise and fall of many reputations. The pace of human advancement was remarkably sluggish, considering that it took just a few years for men and women to collaborate and establish a co-operative shop. Nevertheless, the co-operative

workshop surpassed the official capacity of England, despite having a greater commerce. Currently, the group made an annual profit of £20,000, but it only allocated £20 towards education. He said that this plan must be modified in the town of Bede. They now had an impressive collection - he was unaware of any that surpassed it in terms of weightlessness and brilliance. He had traversed the meticulously designed business areas with astonishment. The architect had infused the building with a cheerful and functional design, which was much needed in Jarrow. What was the rationale for the establishment of the store? Education was a prominent aspect of its programs. The shop imparted the value of frugality. It was contended that without frugality, they would be unable to make progress. The wealthy did not practise frugality; it is possible that they did not have a need for it, and it was firmly believed that they would never be capable of instructing the labouring classes in the art of thrift. What was the previous number of youngsters who had pale cheeks and weak health due to poor quality food? The customers may be certain that the products purchased from the co-operative shop are authentic and of high quality. This guarantee provides a significant benefit to the people. Subsequently, they had a profit bank, from which they withdrew funds while never making any deposits. They did not pay a higher price for their items compared to what they would pay elsewhere, and they had a higher level of confidence in the purity of the flood. However, the positive outcomes resulting from the efficient use of resources, wise decision-making, and effective leadership of their officers allowed them to generate an annual profit of £20,000. This profit could be utilised to enhance their overall situation. The request was made to draw their

attention to a particular issue that was being overlooked by the co-operators. Co-operation was an equitable system of commerce and industry where the store's profit was given to the consumers and the workshop's profit was given to the workers. Collaboration did not entirely resolve the issue of capital and labour, but it did contribute to its resolution. On that day, he perused an article in the Newcastle Chronicle that contained insightful advice. The article suggested that if workers allocated some of the funds they typically spend on strikes towards establishing an engineering factory or acquiring a coal mine, they would gain a more valuable and practical experience in self-improvement compared to engaging in strikes. According to the same article, it was said that "the labour of workers in their capital entitles them to receive the highest interest that the market can offer." This was purportedly the genuine principle of cooperation. The world's wealth was effectively regenerated every few years, mostly via manual effort. If the individuals who are responsible for the production of this product were to retain ownership of it, the impoverished would have the ability to attain as much wealth as they choose, while the affluent would have access to the necessary resources to maintain their desired standard of living. Books were now being displayed alongside the co-operative workshops. According to reports, it was believed to be an unattainable task for workers to construct and operate a shop of such impressive appearance as they encountered at that time, while also generating a yearly profit of £20,000. The criticisms that the previous grocers made about the Rochdale store are now being voiced by the current grocers over the workshop. What is the need for craftsmen to rely on hospitals funded by donations, depend on the generosity of others, and get

old age pensions from the government, when they might sustain themselves by retaining the profits from their labour and not require any assistance? The Eight Hours Bill had a cooperative element to prevent those with superior skills from exploiting others by working excessive hours and depriving others of employment opportunities. The combination of capital and work generated profit, however, capital claimed the whole of the profit. Only the co-operative workshop has the ability to avoid this. The whole nation had been disturbed for a considerable period due to the miners' attempt to raise their salaries by reducing the production, which ultimately affected the consumers. The public's vehement opposition at that time was due to their self-centredness. Did the masters collaborate to increase the price of goods? Was there a lack of fish ring? Classes unrelated to these combinations were unjustly affected by them, but there was little protest against their self-centredness. It would be unjust to conclude that celebration without explicitly mentioning that the initial goal of cooperation was to construct selfsustaining industrial communities characterised by shared work, shared property, and shared resources for education and leisure. They had not yet been able to implement this plan. At the inception of the movement in Rochdale, he attended several initial gatherings. If someone had informed them at that time that they would have a hall similar to the one in Jarrow or Rochdale, they would have deemed it impossible for working men to achieve such a feat. Now, individuals were starting to believe that it was feasible to execute the same tasks, even inside workshops. The task was achievable, and he maintained the belief that the remuneration for the labouring individual should be half that of the aristocrat. By increasing salaries,

individuals would have a more disposable income to allocate towards retail purchases and enhance their living conditions. They would not rely on the wealthy during difficult times. These philanthropic initiatives, established by the wealthy out of their benevolence, would cease to be essential. What are the reasons for working men to need assistance from charitable organisations? Why should people who generate the world's riches willingly relinquish it to others and accept with humility what rightfully belongs to them? The businessman provided a loan of his money, while the working man contributed his life and effort to generate the profit. If both work and capital contribute to generating profits, should the earnings not be distributed? Why was it that all the profit ended up in the possession of those who did not engage in any work? His concept was to demonstrate that the issue of cooperation was synonymous with the issue of work. In the Jarrow Express' report on April 1, 1892, Mr. Wallace made a statement praising the co-operators for exemplifying the democratic principles that guide their movement. He emphasised that this event represented a significant advancement in the social movement, which has had a positive impact on all those involved. The Society's history shown a consistent and steady progression throughout the last three decades. In 1861, a passionate social reformer, who shared the fervour of the Rochdale weavers, walked through the streets of the town and called for the residents to attend the first cooperative meeting in Jarrow. He had announced the arrival of the movement that would provide the working men with a tool to elevate themselves from a state of suffering to one of contentment. The collaboration in the town had a modest but promising start. The first weekly announcement indicated that the

sales reached a total value of £116. Currently, their weekly company revenue exceeded £2,000. In the preceding year, their company surpassed £100,000 and a sum of £19,000 was disbursed as profits among the members, likely enhancing the quality of life in a workingman's household. He believed that the meeting will serve as a catalyst for more effort in the future. Subsequently, he officially inaugurated the newly established buildings. Mr. Moore-Ede encouraged cooperators to develop a passionate affection for the significant movement and a knowledgeable understanding of its loftier objectives and ambitions. They were pleased to see that any efforts aimed at promoting the intellectual progress of the members received their wholehearted support and sympathy. They should prioritise the well-being of mankind before cost-cutting.

On June 11, 1892, the Aberdeen People's Journal published an item headlined 'Conference of Workers', which stated that the annual Congress of the Co-Operative Societies of the United Kingdom began at the Bailie Street Chapel in Rochdale. Approximately 900 delegates were present. The locals showed significant enthusiasm for the proceedings, with numerous buildings in the borough being adorned in celebration of the event. A display showcasing the products of cooperative manufacturers was taking place in the town. In his presidential speech, Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell refuted the prevailing claim that cooperation had been unsuccessful and said that productive societies will improve in the future. The two Wholesale Societies had received funds and disbursed them, resulting in an excess of about £200,000 compared to the amount contributed by other Societies. They were

establishing their own financial resources, which would later prove beneficial for the economic development of the industrial sectors. In regards to cooperation, the president said that consumption is the fundamental factor in the building of wealth and should be the foundation of genuine cooperation. Mr. Maxwell, representing the Scottish sector, disagreed with the notion that consumption was the fundamental principle of cooperation. The Co-operators want to acquire control of the majority of the country's industries by a peaceful settlement. If some societies were structured on prioritising the acquisition of substantial profits for industries, then the Wholesale Societies, which solely catered to the welfare of the general population, would inevitably emerge triumphant. Holyoake also addressed the audience

In an article titled 'Bread for the People' published on 6 August 1892, Justice stated that the Workers' Cooperative (Productive) Society was effectively and beneficially feeding the residents of West Ham and the surrounding area with bread that was completely clean and healthy. A shareholders' general meeting was place in the new Socialist Club on Grafton Street, Tottenham Court Road, last Saturday. Before the meeting, a tea was held, attended by more than 100 individuals. The bread was provided by the Co-operative Bakery from their bakehouse in Canning Town, and everyone who tried it unanimously agreed that it was the finest they had ever eaten. Following the tea break, the meeting appointed Herbert Burrows as the chairman and he requested the secretary, Gilles, to present the report. The report demonstrated consistent growth in the number of tasks undertaken and completed over the nine-week operation of the bakery. Over the course of 9

weeks, from the start until 2 July, the firm was established despite significant challenges, resulting in a loss of just £3 18s 1.5d. It is worth noting that since then, a somewhat positive balance has been maintained. The right side has been constructed. The society's explicit goal was to establish comparable bakeries in all areas of London, with the only need being for the workers to acquire further shares. In a subsequent piece inside the same publication, titled 'Sanitation and Socialism', the Trades Union Congress engaged in extensive deliberation over the topics of newborn mortality and food availability. Each speaker demonstrated that the impoverished moms were unable to see the rules of nature due to their extreme hunger. Each speaker emphatically advocated for moms to breastfeed their own children. "The most important right that we must emphasise and recognise is the child's right to receive its mother's milk." However, it is unfortunate that mothers are frequently forced to sell their milk to wealthy children, while their own children are left to consume spoilt milk from a bottle or contract tuberculosis from milk produced by sick cows. Regarding the issue of providing housing for the working classes, all delegates expressed their opposition to the construction of residences specifically for craftsmen and the resulting negative social segregation of different classes. It was shown that the current capitalist system caused the populace to die prematurely in every aspect. Legislation aimed at preventing food adulteration, improving living conditions for the mentally ill, and ensuring safe working environments in workshops may help alleviate these problems, but they cannot completely eradicate them. The effective solution relied on the progressive replacement of private businesses with public services.

To initiate this transition, the congress urged localities to establish municipal bakeries and butchers' shops, as well as construct exemplary housing units, as an educational measure.

On February 24, 1893, The Birmingham Daily Post documented a significant delegation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce Assessment Committees and other organisations that met with the President of the Local Government Board. Their purpose was to request his endorsement of Mr. W.H. Holland's bill, which aimed to exempt movable machinery from taxation. Holland presented the delegation, which consisted of delegates from the Birmingham Trades Council (Councillor E. Bloor), Birmingham Amalgamated Tinplate Workers Cooperative Society, and the Coventry and District Trades and Labour Council. Sir Henry James said that there are already varying legal regulations about rating in various areas, which has grown unacceptable. Therefore, Parliament should assume the responsibility of clearly establishing the law on this matter. They were not trying to exclude machinery from being taxed; they simply wanted machinery to bear its fair share of the tax burden. However, they argued that movable articles should not be taxed, even though it was cleverly argued that their presence in the building increased the building's value. Mr. Fowler, the president of the Local Government Board, expressed his disappointment with the restricted time allocated for speaker presentations. This was due to a scheduled meeting of a specific division of the Cabinet at twelve o'clock, followed by a meeting of the whole Cabinet at half past two. Additional speakers, such as Mr G. Howell, M.P and Sir John Evans, expressed their agreement with the

deputation's stance that equipment integrated into a building should be subject to taxation, but mobile machinery, similar to furniture, should be exempt from taxation.

The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser said on 25 May 1893 that the delegates from co-operative organisations in the UK, who had participated in the annual congress in Bristol, efficiently concluded their business during the concluding sessions. The schedule was longer than expected due to many unresolved concerns from the previous day. However, all items were addressed before lunch, allowing the members to explore the city's attractions in the afternoon. The president of the day was Mr. W. H. Brown of Newport and there was a huge assembly of delegates. In his opening statement, the president mentioned the favourable position that the cooperative movement had achieved at the time of the meeting. Simultaneously, he said that it was really true that the vast majority of the working classes were still not part of the cooperative community. The proletariat exhibited a pervasive sense of dissatisfaction with their socio-economic status, which the author deemed justified. They were regularly informed of frequent conflicts between capital and labour. While a small number of individuals were very wealthy, the majority of the population was impoverished. Every day in London, around 44,000 youngsters visited board schools in order to get sustenance. The statistics purportedly revealed the dismal condition and widespread poverty in the English city, which was not unique in this regard. Similar problems seemed to be emerging in the Colonies as well. What potential remedies may be implemented? Any strategy that

would diminish men's self-reliance and selfdependence is not worthy of their attention. In order to achieve an improved condition of affairs, it is imperative for them to turn their attention towards the co-operative movement. Regarding the most effective method of encouraging individuals to become cooperators, he believed that the solution had not vet been found. The challenge was challenging, but they should be capable of resolving it. Prior to anticipating the complete advancement of their movement, co-operators must exert every effort inside current societies to fortify and solidify them, in order to gain the trust and support of both their members and the external individuals they want to engage. There has to be a strong and genuine alliance between co-operatives and labour unions, and the vital contributions of the Women's Guild must be acknowledged. He stressed the need of conducting propaganda efforts, particularly in the Western region, and he endorsed the proposal to establish a dedicated Welsh department.

In a letter published in Reynold's Newspaper on 22 April 1894, a writer named Cooper highlighted the Workers' Co-operative Bakery, emphasising that despite extensive literature on London bakehouses, this particular bakery deserved attention. Having interacted with the co-operative, he said that he had obtained superior bread compared to any previous experience. He found it surprising that the labourers do not all conduct business with them, rather than with the conservative shops. In addition, he had perused an essay authored by Mr. Hunter Watts on socialism and pondered why the trade unions did not engage in the production of everyday items such as brushes, boots, and other household objects. He said that there are

likely many employed individuals who would eagerly purchase such items from the labour unions if they were aware of where they might get them. On October 9, 1894, the Southern Echo newspaper said that the resignation of the secretary of the Workers' Cooperative Productive organisation would lead to the dissolution of the organisation. The paper had little knowledge of the merits of the debate. However, the deceased secretary said that personal jealousy was the primary cause of the trouble that resulted in the society's downfall. This incident was only another example of the ongoing quarrels that often occur among working-class groups. It occurred on a significant magnitude inside the Independent Labour Party. In 1892, when Mr. John Burns and Mr. Keir Hardie were elected to Parliament, they made a decision to establish the core of a political party that would consistently oppose the Government. Consequently, they assumed their positions on the Opposition side of the House of Commons. However, after little over two years, the two members of that small party were openly hostile towards one other. Following Burns' harsh assault on his colleague Starmer, it became difficult for Hardie to have any more interactions with the member for Battersea.

The Glasgow Herald published an article on August 26, 1895, on the just concluded International Co-operative Congress. The event culminated with a luncheon at the Crystal Palace, attended by foreign officials. The palace showcased an impressive display of flowers, fruits, and vegetables sourced from the gardens and allotments of co-operators. The theatre hosted a choral competition among choirs from prominent societies. Additionally, there was an athletic competition held in the grounds,

along with a range of children's sports activities, such as a floral festival and a flower battle. Lastly, a concert took place in the grand central transept of the palace. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Lorimer from Boston, USA. He emphasised his desire for the Co-operative Congress to convene in America in the near future. Prior to the pioneering Rochdale movement and the advent of cooperative efforts, working people worldwide had almost lost hope. Nevertheless, a remarkable collaboration emerged, guiding them towards their goal, and now they could acknowledge with gratitude the significant advancements they had achieved. Upon seeing the events of that day, they were able to comprehend the immense accomplishments that had been attained via collaboration. He said that collaboration had greatly contributed to liberating workers from enslavement, and the movement they were involved in will eliminate the detestable practice of sweating, which he vehemently condemned. According to an article in The Hendon & Finchley Times on 20 September 1895, the Economic Section of the British Association had a conference in Ipswich where they addressed topics such as co-operative rural banks, State help to agricultural workers, and cooperation as a solution to agricultural hardship. Furthermore, the examination included population dynamics, destitution, the State's involvement with agricultural workers, and the practice of cooperative labour among women.

In the 'Topical Tattle' section of the Justice newspaper on 28 November 1896, a contributor expressed their satisfaction over the inclusion of a remark on cooperation and socialism in a previous issue, as well as a letter from Ms Eleanor Field discussing the same topic.

He considered this issue to be of utmost significance. He said, based on his own experience, that the cooperative movement had little prospects unless it adhered to capitalist principles. The success of the cooperative movement was directly proportional to its adherence to such principles. According to him, the reasons for this were self-evident; they were living inside a capitalist framework and were unable to break free from their surroundings. Nevertheless, he acknowledged, as Eleanor Field had emphasised, it was very difficult for socialists to sustain a cooperative enterprise following these principles. Regarding salary, working hours, and overall working conditions for the workers, they had to be absolutely impeccable, much like Caesar's wife. Even the slightest imperfection, which would be ignored in a capitalist, is enough to condemn them, as was claimed. However, in many instances, the employees appeared to consider it their responsibility to exploit these situations by engaging in "ca' canny" behaviour, such as arriving late and leaving early, extending meal times, and finding other ways to reduce their working hours. It is worth noting that even at its maximum, the working time for these individuals was still less than what they would have to work under a capitalist employer. These were just a few of the tactics employed by the workers to hinder such endeavours. While a private capitalist would respond to these actions with fines or dismissals, the socialist cooperators had no choice but to tolerate them. The writer said that the workers of a socialist co-operative regularly undermined the firm, not out of ill-feeling, laziness, or a desire to exploit the problems of the position, but rather for other reasons. The reason for this was the nonsensical discussion around the practice of socialism and the resulting notion that a socialist

cooperative firm could be considered a "practical experiment in socialism" and should be operated according to socialist principles. However, the writer contended that this perspective was in direct opposition to the principles of socialism. The fundamental principle of socialism is rooted in the inherent inability to establish just and fair interactions between individuals under the current societal framework. If individuals were able to transcend these conditions and not allow them to control their whole existence, there would be no need for socialist propaganda. This theory suggests that it is contradictory for a capitalist to be a socialist. The reasoning behind this is because if a capitalist really embraced socialism, they would sell all their possessions and distribute the proceeds to those in need. When a rich individual identifies as a socialist, they are often accused of insincerity unless they are willing to relinquish their fortune. Conversely, when a poor person embraces socialism, they are often dismissed as just envious and greedy. Nevertheless, the challenges faced by socialist co-operators were not only of their own making. The customers who frequented these establishments seemed to believe that they were bestowing a significant favour upon them. They meticulously scrutinised the merchandise provided, as if it were the work of inexperienced individuals, and expressed dissatisfaction and criticism towards work that would be highly praised if it were produced by a capitalist. However, they anticipated that everything would be inexpensive, although they would express strong disapproval if they discovered that the same methods used by capitalists were utilised to achieve low prices. He expressed sympathy for Ferdinand Gilles, who purportedly attempted to disregard the aforementioned challenges, but they ultimately

overwhelmed him and led to his death. None of those individuals who refrained from purchasing bread from the Workers' Co-operative Productive Society due to its high price, nor any of those who neglected to repay their debts to the association, would have hesitated to express their righteous anger if it had been proven that the society's workers were not treated any better than the employees of the master baker, whom they willingly patronised despite his lack of trust in them.

In his speech to the participants of the recent Cooperative Congress in Peterborough, the Bishop of London said that co-operation is not only acknowledged as a force, but also as a benevolent force, as reported by The Banbury Advertiser on 2 June 1898. The use of co-operative distribution proved to be very beneficial in terms of fostering intellectual and moral development. The success of co-operative distribution had been achieved, but, there remained uncertainty over the potential viability of co-operative production. In order to ensure that workers get their fair share of manufacturing earnings, it was necessary to conduct experiments and determine their effectiveness.

The Glamorgan Free Press, in an article published on 4 June 1898 under the section named 'Work and Workers', documented the participation of cooperatives in alleviating the suffering in South Wales. In its report to the shareholders for the quarter ending 26 March, the committee of the Co-operative Wholesale Society said that the conflict between workers and employers in the South Wales and Monmouthshire coalfields had resulted in the unemployment of around 100,000 miners. As a result,

there is widespread suffering in the afflicted areas and urgent assistance is needed. Therefore, we suggest that you provide us with £2,000, allowing us the authority to use the funds as we see fit in order to alleviate the misery and deprivation experienced by the wives and families of individuals who are now without sufficient means of support due to the disagreement.

On 16 August 1899, the Dublin Daily Express published an article stating that Mr. Gerald Balfour, the Irish Secretary, together with Lady Betty Balfour, visited the Crystal Palace to officially inaugurate a Labour Association Exhibition. This exhibition showcased items that were made in co-operative or labour co-partnership enterprises. The opening ceremony occurred in a chamber next to the Exhibition, with a significant gathering of attendees, including Lord Plunkett, Lord Monteagle, the Earl of Stamford, Mr G. J. Holyoake, and Mr. R. A. Anderson from the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Mr. Maddison, Member of Parliament, chaired the meeting. Mr. Balfour, when speaking to the public before the Exhibition's commencement, expressed his awareness of the significance of the co-operative movement. He had developed a keen interest in cooperation over a significant duration of time, and this desire had been specifically promoted. The city he represented in Parliament had one of the oldest and most thriving cooperative societies in the United Kingdom. Currently, this society boasts over 40,000 members and conducts a commerce worth over 1.25 million. Once again, about eight or nine years ago, he served as a member of a Labour Commission, where he gathered a substantial amount of very captivating material related to the topic. As Chief Secretary of Ireland, he inevitably became

deeply interested in the notable advancements in cooperation that occurred in the country. In basic terms, it may be said that the co-operative movement is no longer being tested or evaluated. It was a really noticeable triumph. Just over half a century ago, a small group of labourers in Rochdale initiated the cooperative movement as we know it today. Currently, this movement consists of around 1,600 societies with a total membership of approximately 1,600,000. On average, each society has about 1,000 members. According to the 1898 records, the combined annual trade of these societies amounted to £65,460,000. The figures were enormous, but upon closer analysis and differentiation of what was referred to as distributive co-operation, it became evident that their reason for satisfaction would significantly decrease. This is because the total number of productive co-operative societies in Great Britain was only around 150, and their trade did not surpass £3,000,000 annually. The user found it rather unsatisfactory since, in their view, the producing societies addressed an issue of somewhat higher significance than the distributive societies. He did not want to diminish the highly valuable work carried out by the distributive societies or the benefits they had provided to the working classes by offering them the means to obtain essential goods and other advantages. However, he believed that the productive movement was more significant because it addressed the issue of the relationship between employers and employees, which is one of the most crucial problems in the field of social and industrial science. While he did not explicitly state that fruitful co-operation had been a failure, it may be inferred that it was not a resounding success. As a supporter of cooperation, he and his fellow advocates had to confront the facts

directly and objectively assess both the strengths and weaknesses of the movement. Firstly, let them contemplate the economic benefits that co-operative shoe companies held, but were only partially enjoyed by productive societies. All of these benefits can be attributed to a specific characteristic of the distributive system: the stores have managed to attract a customer base consisting of individuals who are financially prepared to make purchases. This has allowed the stores to avoid unpaid debts, save money on bookkeeping, and minimise their risks. As a result, the stores remain relatively unaffected by economic downturns, regardless of the scale of their operations. The benefits have allowed distributive cooperation to effectively compete with retail dealers. The productive societies did not see similar benefits. The purpose of productive co-operation is often described as liberating workers in a co-operative workplace from their reliance on capital. That was an inaccurate manner of presenting the information. The industry is inherently reliant on finance, and if the cooperative workshops have already shown their ability to provide a secure investment for capital, it is believed that they may easily get the necessary capital at the prevailing market interest rates. Currently, the savings of the working classes are estimated to be around a staggering £300,000,000. If the working classes were confident that industrial production societies offered the same level of investment security as distributive societies, there would undoubtedly be sufficient capital available.

According to him, co-operative manufacturing aimed to replace an industrial monarchy with an industrial republic. Rather of occupying the roles of solely servant or master, the workers assumed dual roles as both master and servant, therefore jointly enjoying the gains. If such a system could be effectively implemented, there would undoubtedly be a motivating factor for each worker to strain themselves more. Furthermore, if this system were widely adopted. strikes would be largely, if not completely, eliminated. What were the reasons for the relatively limited development of such system? He was apprehensive that the response indicated that all of its benefits had a significant downside. He said that the limitation was in the challenge of implementing democratic oversight over contemporary industrial systems. One of the main challenges that cooperative production faced, in contrast to production under a capitalist employer, was the very intricate nature of the contemporary industrial system. Joint-stock firms had the benefit of being capable of providing generous remuneration to management. Here they had the essence of the whole thing. An industrious civilisation strived to become an industrial democracy. Democracy in politics was a very challenging form of administration, and he was concerned that the same difficulty applied to the economic world. Regarding the issue of profit sharing, he believed that there are several sectors where the practice of profit sharing may be implemented effectively. The Co-operators were astute in their time, making every effort to promote profit sharing. In his introductory statement, he expressed the need to address the issue of collaboration in Ireland. The figures of co-operative production in Ireland were not entirely satisfying, but they were still fairly exceptional, virtually on par with the statistics of distributive cooperation. He may provide them with some data that was given to him by Anderson, a member of the IAOS, where Mr. Horace Plunkett served as the President.

Despite being relatively recent, the co-operative movement in Ireland already boasted a total of 400 groups. At that time, the membership was around 40,000. The membership had a significant surge, as it grew from 27,000 in 1897 to around 40,000 in 1898. Among these societies, there were some dedicated to co-operative dairying, some serving as auxiliary societies, and some focused on agriculture. The agricultural societies were primarily involved in purchasing agricultural implements like manure and seeds. Additionally, there were co-operative banks. It is worth noting that the number of agricultural banks with bad debts was very low. Furthermore, there were cooperative groups dedicated to the breeding of poultry, as well as several other miscellaneous clubs. Some of the societies, without a doubt, may be accurately described as productive societies. These societies, which the speaker said were typically included in this category, were productive in the sense that they distributed a portion of their earnings to the workers and were operated by the co-operators themselves. It was said that collaboration had helped the peasants in ameliorating their destitute circumstances.

According to an article in the Halifax Courier on November 18, 1899, Mr. P. Maddison, Member of Parliament, delivered a talk on 'Co-operative Ideals' in the Sowerby Bridge Town Hall. There was a high level of participation. Maddison was brought to Sowerby Bridge by Mr. W. Leach, the chairman, with the intention of imparting the ideals of co-operation to the people of Sowerby Bridge. Several months ago, a proposal was made at one of the biannual meetings to decrease the incentive. Given that the members were dissatisfied, the committee decided to attempt to recruit

someone who could educate them on the true principles of cooperation. Maddison said that the purpose of the gathering was to enhance mutual support in the belief of collaboration, and to encourage those who were not already cooperating to do so. In any case, the Labour Association and the Sowerby Bridge Society, with his presence that evening, had a single goal: to comprehend the significant challenges that confronted them in the realms of industry and trade. Currently, if one were to observe the continent of Europe, they would discover that there are four million males currently enlisted in the military. All the men were mentally and physically healthy, with no disabled individuals among them, yet none of them were able to earn their meal. Each button adorning his shirt was generously contributed by the labourers hailing from different cultures. He said this to demonstrate that when they adopted a broad perspective, they discovered a situation that was completely contrary to the ideal. It was just brutality disguised with a sophisticated label. The country had significant national debts, primarily resulting from war expenses, totalling six thousand million. These debts carried substantial interest rates, benefiting wealthy European capitalists rather than the poor. As a result, individuals had to work harder to meet the interest payments on this unjustifiably large principal amount. If they were to examine the socioeconomic state of the people in closer proximity to their own homes, they would once again encounter circumstances that greatly hindered the ability to maintain principles. Mr Charles Booth, a highly skilled and dedicated truth-seeker, said that in the area of London covered by his books, 33% of the population lived below the poverty line. He considered this figure to be reasonable, since he defined the poverty level at £1 per week. Undoubtedly, the

workman had seen significant improvement in his circumstances compared to 30 years before, and anybody who claimed otherwise must have been remarkably uninformed. There were just a handful of things that were not somewhat difficult to own or do. How much did they appreciate the stuff they received without paying for? There is not a significant amount to assess if we consider how the young people took use of the opportunity for free education. There has never been a period in which their reading habits have decreased. Their predecessors, the former Chartists, expressed the sentiment of "waiting until we acquire knowledge from libraries; granting us access to the abundant sources of knowledge, and we will then immerse ourselves in it." Some young people indeed immersed themselves, but unfortunately, it was in the incorrect kind of knowledge, as it has been said. There was a challenge in embracing principles. The need for the ideals much outweighed the challenge of attaining them. Their primary objective was to engage in collaborative creation rather than engaging in confrontational distribution. Collaboration that just included the sale of an item was insufficient. Collaboration should start with the creation of the piece and continue consistently throughout all its phases. Work was the fundamental principle of existence; exertion was the principle of development and wellbeing. The principle of legitimate work was the fundamental rule by which individuals experienced growth and development, while laziness hindered and stunted them, eventually leading to their demise. The work was divine. Many people saw it as diabolical. It was said that cooperation should assist in any action. whether internal or external, that aimed to make work and the worker more humane and uplifting. The author

argues that co-operators should not be seen as simply shopkeepers, yet, the author encountered several individuals who were really just shopkeepers and lacked proficiency in their trade. Co-operators who had lost almost all of their faith also lost almost all of their business, since a co-operator without faith was seen as worthless to society as a private merchant. In order to foster a genuine sense of engagement in their job, it is imperative that employers empower their employees to become masters of their craft rather than simply servants to the interests of capital. According to the statement, there were three elements that constituted the co-partnership of faith: 1 - the inclusion of both male and female workers in receiving profits in addition to their regular salaries; 2 - involvement in the ownership of capital; 3 - the right of the worker to be considered for a position on the management committee. The professor and the West End choir were thanked for their excellent performances by a vote of appreciation, proposed by Mr. Barrett and supported by Mr. W. Nicholl.

The Leigh Chronicle and Weekly District Advertiser documented a meeting organised by the Educational Committee of the Leigh Friendly Co-operative Society, which took place at Golborne on 8 December 1899. Mr E. Bullough chaired the meeting and was accompanied on the stage by Messrs T. Ainscough, W. Bellamy, L. Hunter, W. H. Hulton, J. Smith, J. Parr, P. Rimmer, T. Manuel (president of the Wigan Co-operative Society), Mrs Hulton, Mrs Charleson, and Miss Darlington. There was a large turnout. The chairman commended the residents of Golborne for their impressive assembly and said that in the preceding year, Golborne was referred to as the hub of collaboration. During his

speech, Manuel expressed his presence that night as a result of his strong belief in the co-operative movement. He aimed to provide the residents of Golborne with some of the loftier principles of that movement. Some individuals were inclined to choose a relatively low criterion with respect to that particular endeavour. It included more than just running a store, and they had to decide between the competitive system. which prioritised individual gain, and a larger national movement, whose principle was "all for each and each for all." He joined the cause for several reasons. Firstly, he held the belief that it promoted frugality among the general population as poverty reduced. The nation experienced significant poverty resulting from uncontrollable conditions, although there was also a considerable amount that might have been prevented via the practice of frugality and careful planning. He adhered to the movement because it urged individuals to be frugal in their transactions and to plan for the future. The movement taught thrift via many means. The author emphasised the importance of cash and advocated for the use of a cash-based trading system, considering it the most cost-effective method. Encouraging the adoption of this system was one of the primary goals of co-operators. When individuals made purchases using cash, they had the power to choose their own conditions. However, when they opted for the credit system, the situation was reversed. Cooperative societies, through providing loans at a reduced interest rate, are currently assisting their members in becoming homeowners. It would not be surprising if cooperative societies were to solve the problem of housing for the poor, while Parliament deliberates on the matter and ponders where to start. The Bolton Co-operative Society, which predates Leigh or Wigan, implemented

the construction project some years ago and has now disbursed loans totalling £700,000 to members who have either purchased or constructed their own dwellings. Despite providing an annual advance of £50,000 to £60,000, their outstanding account remained unchanged for the last several years. He indicated that the accomplishments in Bolton may be replicated in Leigh, Golborne, and Wigan. Around six months before, a commencement was made in Wigan, where they established their own regulations. These rules have been in effect for three months, and around 20 individuals have already benefited from the program. It was contended that the start was not unfavourable. Cooperation had a vital role in fostering habits of frugality and efficiency among the general population, while simultaneously establishing a fair and trustworthy trading system. He said that the only equitable trade system would ensure that the producer receives both a fair remuneration and the expenses associated with bringing the product to market. In illustrating the manner in which fraudulent commerce was conducted, he cited an instance when an individual established a shop in close proximity to a cooperative store and confidently said that he would cause the business to cease operations within a span of around nine months. He priced everything very low, and as a consequence, he found himself in bankruptcy court within a year. Several individuals enquired about the discrepancy in prices between certain items at a cooperative shop and those in privately-owned stores. Cooperators placed items on the counter at the lowest possible price while ensuring equitable salaries. In many establishments, there was a significant amount of deceit in business transactions, causing customers to be uncertain whether they received the exact item they

requested. In a fair trading system, each individual receives precisely what they requested, which is the ultimate goal of cooperation. He was a member of the co-operative movement primarily because it was the only trade organisation that acknowledged the worker's rights, which was a significant factor. The co-operators prioritised the well-being of the producer and demanded that they get a fair and sufficient remuneration. In contrast, private competition placed the producer as a low priority and only offered them compensation if there were any remaining resources. There was a significant disparity between the two, and he placed a higher importance on how co-operation saw that issue than any other aspect of the movement. He came upon a book called 'The White Slaves of England' which detailed the laborious work of nail manufacturers in Browngrove and slipper makers in Leeds. These workers toiled for an astonishing 80 to 90 hours per week, earning only a meagre income in the teens of shillings per week. He held the belief that there existed a large number of Jews in Leeds who were producing slippers of exceptional quality and working excessively long hours, resulting in the English being unable to rival their output. However, instead of promoting fair wages, people would choose to purchase these exploited products from stores in order to save a small amount of money. He asserted that cooperation was making every effort to eliminate such kind of stuff. A man recently expressed indifference towards the production process of an article as long as it is inexpensive. As long as this mindset persists, exploitative labour practices will persist, leading to numerous distressing exposés regarding the low wages paid to workers in the shirt-making, needle-making, slipper-making, and other industries. By participating

in the cooperative movement, individuals may contribute to the eradication of that shameful situation. Several prominent cooperative groups were implementing efforts to eradicate that malevolent phenomenon. A shoe factory was constructed in Leeds, where the local community produced and sold all their shoes, offering employment to a workforce of 200 individuals. The society hired their own bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and plasterers, providing them with a reasonable salary and ensuring their continuous employment. The workers of the co-operative in Wigan worked six hours less than those of any other enterprise in the town. They were exemplifying commendable behaviour, however they did not cease their efforts at that point. Whenever they established contracts, they included a provision stating that both the contractor and the subcontractor were prohibited from employing anyone at the site who were not receiving salaries in accordance with the trade union standards. If a contractor declined to include that stipulation, they were not awarded the project, even if their bid was £50, £100, or £200 lower than others. The Wigan Cooperative Society was likewise very diligent in purchasing only commodities that were manufactured with fair pay. When establishing contracts, they included a provision that explicitly prohibited any kind of forced labour or the excessive employment of underage workers. If their example was universally adopted, there would be little or nonexistent perspiration. Individuals should refrain from excessively pursuing discounts and instead focus on assisting those who are working to eradicate the exploitative practice of sweatshops. To the extent that they could eradicate the concept of self-interest from individuals, they would also achieve success in

suppressing or eradicating the practice of excessive labour, which was severely damaging the core of the nation. Therefore, members of co-operative societies should not complain if they are requested to pay a little additional amount, such as a penny or half-penny, for a product that was produced under favourable circumstances. In order to create a better and happier world, individuals must have confidence in the committee's actions and be resolute in doing what they believe is right, while upholding the motto of "each for all and all for each". Mrs. Charleson, the head of the Women's Guild at Leigh, said that the guild offers dressmaking and ill nursing training. She expressed her gratitude to the professor by proposing a vote of appreciation. Mrs. Hulton supported the resolution, which was approved. Mr T. Ainscough commended Golborne for maintaining its image as a prominent bastion of cooperation. Once again, they had been in charge of all the grocer branches of the Leigh Cooperative Society. The mean revenue during the previous quarter amounted to £252 per week. The organisation felt confident in expanding their operations in Golborne. They held a meeting with the Building Committee that afternoon and it was agreed to propose to the General Committee the opening of a butcher's shop and a clog store in Golborne. The revenue generated in Golborne during the previous quarter amounted to £3,281 15s. The amount of 3.5d, £292 3s was distributed as a dividend, resulting in an average of 23s per member every quarter. The Leigh society had a constant revenue of 8s 11d every minute, both throughout the day and at night, and a profit of 1s 7d over the same period. The resolution was approved and a vote of gratitude was also extended to the chairman. Mr W. Watkinson entertained the audience

with his humorous sketch, causing them to burst into laughter multiple times throughout the evening. His sketch included jokes about "looking for a job," "a little bit off the top," "serving 'em all alike," and "you've got a long way to go." Mr T. Ward impressed the audience with his tenor voice. When the audience enthusiastically requested an encore of "The Last Muster," he instead performed "Rule Britannia," with the audience joining in the chorus. In addition, he received an encore for his performance of the song "Queen of the Earth." In return, he delivered a magnificent rendition of "Let me like a Soldier Fall." Miss L. Evans received enthusiastic applause for her performances of the songs "In Friendship's Name" and "Flight of Ages." As an encore for the latter, she delivered a brilliant rendition of "Killarney." Miss B. Isherwood sang the songs "For all eternity" and "One more the maiden" with great passion. Mr T. H. Halsall performed a recitation of the poems "The old man goes to town" and "Lubbers afloat." Miss K. S. Smith provided accompaniment and received applause for her solo performance of "Alice." The conference and entertainment were very successful among the series of gatherings organised by the Educational Committee.

EDWARDIAN CO-OPERATION (1900-1920)

During the first two decades of the 20th century, the movement saw significant expansion in several aspects, including the increase in the number of workers engaged, the proliferation of societies, and the rise in exposure, attention, and legitimacy it had acquired. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901 marked the beginning of a new period characterised by Edwardian workers' collaboration and the unprecedented expansion of Christian Socialism.

On August 21, 1900, the North Devon Gazette published a story in the 'Work and Workers' section, stating that a significant sale of woollen goods and boots occurred at the Co-operative Wholesale Society in London. An exclusive exhibition was organised to showcase the boots manufactured at the recently established plant in Rushden. The chairman said that the trade for the first half of the year reached a total of seven and a half million pounds, representing an increase of about one million pounds compared to the previous six months. Previously, executing bespoke orders had posed challenges, but these obstacles have been successfully addressed. In the last six months, the total value of bespoke orders reached £3,692. The Cooperative Society in Bolton demonstrated exemplary commitment to education by allocating a substantial sum of £2,800 annually. Their membership reached a total of 25,000, which was attributed to the appeal of their engaging lectures, seminars, concerts, and intensive promotional efforts. Even once a society had achieved stability and a strong foundation, it was still crucial to maintain its prominence and attract new members. The town of Bury also had a commendable

track record in terms of the educational initiatives driven by the shop. The annual educational grant totalled £1,280. A substantial amount of money was allocated to the library, which consistently offered a wide selection of new works. Adjacent to the library were seventeen newsrooms, each equipped with a variety of publications. The access to newspapers proved very beneficial for unemployed individuals. The reading room often competed with the club and served as a focal point for males, while women, on the other hand, seemed to prefer reading at home or maybe had less leisure time to spend outside. The group organised evening courses, seminars, and concerts.

The Leigh Chronicle and Weekly District Advertiser published a report on a yearly cooperative meeting that took place on 23 November 1900 in Atherton. The conference was organised by the Educational Committee of the Leigh Friendly Society and was held in the local Baptist School. Mr W. Bellamy, the head of the educational department, presided over the meeting and was accompanied by the Reverend E. F. Forrest, MA, the vicar of Pemberton, as well as Messrs James Smith and J. Gerrard. The individuals mentioned are L. Hunter, T. Ainscough, W. Higginson, H. Dickinson, Mrs. Tonge, Mrs. Atkinson, and Mrs. Johnson. There was a significant turnout. The chairman said that the performance at Atherton during the previous quarter was quite successful, with total collections totalling to £5,664 5s 7d. This resulted in a balance of £849 12s, which would be distributed among the members. The Educational Committee made concerted efforts to enhance the library, and any member had the opportunity to provide proposals for additional publications. In his presentation on co-operation,

Reverend E. F. Barrett said that co-operation is a manifestation of the reality that humans are not designed to exist in isolation and that none of them can really be self-sufficient without the support of others. The traditional principle was to treat others as one would want to be treated, but the contemporary principle is to treat others as one really treats them or as one would like to be treated. Co-operators discovered this fact a long time ago, leading to the introduction of the co-operative system. This system was implemented in response to the severe oppression faced by the poor, as they were neglected in terms of both their physical and spiritual well-being. The first co-operators discovered that by collaborating, they could more effectively provide themselves with essential resources compared to external parties that were primarily motivated by maximising their own profits. The members themselves provided the funds and also bought directly from their own store, so eliminating the intermediary. The concept of co-operators was based on the notion that if people in the private sector could amass wealth via their own businesses, then they might achieve similar success. A multitude of individuals finally united with the aim of expanding their businesses, and this approach became prevalent in several commercial organisations. Consequently, it has become more rare to find individuals who are prepared to embark on a venture entirely on their own. Consequently, several firms were established. He personally advocated for collaboration, but despised corporations. According to him, it was not possible for anybody to bear the burden alone. Ernest T. Hooley, a prominent financier, established several enterprises. Many individuals lost their money because they neglected to actively manage it and instead relied on it

to grow on its own. Collaboration did not signify that. It included everyone displaying genuine curiosity and experiencing a personal and enthusiastic investment in the subject. The members of the cooperative societies were not asked to place their faith in their secretaries, managers, or committees, but rather in themselves. That was indeed the key to their remarkable achievement. Co-operative societies were inherently democratic, since anybody who was competent and capable could rise to prominence within them. There was no bias or preferential treatment, as everything was accessible and available to everyone. This inclusivity is regarded to be the key factor behind the remarkable success of cooperation. Each member has the freedom to critique any balance sheet. Collaboration had shown that labourers were completely competent to assume the responsibility of overseeing and effectively operating large enterprises. What advantages did individuals get from cooperation? When they bought products in the public market, they paid around one sovereign for things worth roughly seventeen shillings. Co-operators adhered to the practice of selling items at the prevailing market price and thereafter distributing the earnings at the conclusion of each quarter. They believed that this approach was superior to selling goods at cost price because at the end of each quarter, members received 3 shillings for every sovereign they had spent at the stores. This allowed them to effortlessly save a significant amount of money and have a financial safety net for emergencies. However, cooperation had achieved more than just facilitating transactions. He preferred purchasing items from a co-operative shop because he was certain that the products were produced under fair circumstances and paid trade union salaries, to the greatest extent feasible. That was a crucial

element to remember. Co-operators were seeing the prudence of avoiding things that were labelled as 'cheap' since they understood that such goods were produced by workers who were given poor salaries. Currently, the objective was to increase wages by cooperation, rather than decreasing them, since they considered that the worker deserved fair compensation for their work. Labour unions have made significant contributions in securing equitable working conditions and competitive salaries for workers. However, there is potential for cooperation to surpass these achievements. The organisation might participate in fruitful endeavours where the desired outcomes for the people could be achieved directly by the people, without any involvement by capitalists or intermediaries. The cooperators acknowledged the significant contributions of trade unionism to the workers by providing trade union salaries in all areas, and frequently much more. In addition, they had obtained a half-day off for their store associates and shorter working hours compared to those in private businesses. While some private merchants extended their business hours on Saturdays until 11 o'clock and even later, co-operators refrained from doing so. They firmly believed in providing their workers with a reasonable amount of leisure time and ensuring fair salaries. The Wholesale Society successfully implemented this principle throughout all its divisions. The Co-operators had a strong belief in the importance of reliable products, rather than those of poor quality. As an example, the speaker recalled a recent competition in Wigan, where the Co-operative Society's goods were selected to supply the infirmary. He had the belief that a crucial task for co-operators in the future was to endeavour to elevate the intellectual calibre of the workers. Collaboration has made

significant progress in this area in the past, and as a result, those who have acquired excellent instruction in cooperation have obtained respectable and esteemed jobs. Several co-operators had been reelected to Parliament, but the speaker expressed regret that a highly esteemed co-operator like Mr. F. Meddison had lost his seat in Sheffield. He had the belief that the Mayor of Eccles was a proponent of cooperation, and that there were several proponents of cooperation serving on School Boards, Board of Guardians, District and Town Councils. Consequently, the co-operative movement included something more significant than just commercial transactions. He had the belief that a significant issue that might be resolved in the near future via cooperation was the provision of housing for the working classes. That question was quite challenging at the time. In smaller towns like Atherton and Leigh, the situation was not as severe, but in larger towns, a condition of alarming circumstances persisted. In 1900, London had a population of over 400,000 families residing in single-room accommodations, with up to sixteen individuals sharing a room. Additionally, there were over 900,000 households living in two-room dwellings. The Wholesale Co-operative Society was taking action to address the issue. They acquired a substantial parcel of land and were constructing 5,000 dwellings on it. The Leigh district was seeing remarkable success in its cooperative efforts. The greater the attraction of the society to its members, the more influential they would become in recruiting others. While males may have been the primary earners of wages, women had significant control over the expenditure of the money. Therefore, it was crucial to include women in their argument by enlisting their gender. Ainscough, although expressing gratitude to the

chairman and speakers, said that collaboration was likely advancing more rapidly in Atherton compared to any other area under the Leigh Society's jurisdiction. In the preceding quarter, their revenue amounted to £5,664 5s 7d, compared to £4,950 14s 7d in the same quarter of the previous year, resulting in a £1067 11s 0d rise. The Leigh Society was making significant advancements. The revenue generated in the latest quarter amounted to £58,932 5s 10d, whereas in the same quarter of the previous year it was £50,114 13s 4d, resulting in a growth of £8,817 12s 6d. Furthermore, the rise was consistent across the area. The expansion of the branches across a distance of two miles from Leigh resulted in a total increase of £4.392 11s 6.5d. Additionally, the growth in Leigh itself amounted to £4,225 1s 0d. He urged the members to demonstrate unwavering lovalty to the Society and strive to get the maximum amount of goods from the shop. Mr. L. Hunter, in his support, expressed the desire to establish women's guilds across the whole district. In reality, they aimed to replicate their efforts in Leigh regarding education. The motion was successfully passed. Later in the evening, songs were performed.

A very successful gathering was held on 23 November 1901, as recorded by The Portadown News, to celebrate the inauguration of the Co-operative Hall on Mandeville Street in Portadown. The hall, situated just behind the newly established co-operative drapery store on Mandeville Street, had been meticulously furnished, well aired, and brightly illuminated. The entrance to the hall was accessed from Mandeville Street via the main door and up the staircase, which led to a covered walkway that connected to the hall. It was very suitable for hosting meetings and social functions, and it was

well located for Women's Guild meetings. The plan was to provide culinary, dressmaking, and nursing training throughout the winter. The ladies of the Women's Guild generously offered an abundant selection of homemade bread and tea throughout the evening. The space was adorned with artfully arranged flowers, ferns, and trailing plants, demonstrating meticulous attention to detail and refined aesthetic sensibilities. Miss Monaghan was supplying the flowers and other botanical specimens. The general committee received invites from the Women's Guilds of Lurgan, Belfast, Lisburn, and Armagh. Due to the tight train schedule, only Lurgan was able to accept the invites. Belfast, Lisburn, and Armagh expressed their regrets for being unable to attend and conveyed their apologies. The Lurgan Guild was strongly represented by the President, Mrs. Ripon, the Secretary, Miss Haddock, and a member of the committee. The tea was served at 7:30. After the tables were removed, Mr. J. Palmer, the President of the Society, was asked to take the chair. An authentic cooperative program was organised, including concise speeches, emotional and impressive songs, readings, and recitations. Additionally, a brief pause was provided for attendees to socialise, which was fully used by all present. Mr. Gregory proposed a resolution, which was supported by Mr. J. Patton, UDC, to express a warm vote of appreciation to the women. The members of the committee acknowledged their gratitude for the gracious invitation and wonderful hospitality shown by the ladies, which was much valued by every member of the committee. Mrs. Gregory proposed a motion, which was seconded by Mr. S. W. Willis, to express sincere gratitude on behalf of the members of the Women's Guild to the committee for the excellent meeting facilities they had provided in

the hall. The members also pledged their commitment to advancing the goals and objectives of cooperation in Portadown. The President of the Women's Guild, Mrs. Palmer, communicated the vote to the committees on their behalf via the chairman. Subsequently, a sincere expression of gratitude was sent to Mrs. Ripon and the members of the Lurgan Guild who accompanied her for their benevolence in attending.

In an article titled 'The Class War' published on 25 October 1902. Justice asserted that the Thunderer's criticism of trade unionism served as a rallying cry for capitalists and those who supported the current system, prompting a heightened sense of class consciousness. However, only a small number of people were now aware that the workforce was being attacked in some of its key positions. From a capitalist perspective, the assault on trade unionism was a triumph. It demonstrated the power of industrially organised workers and exposed the character and intellectual progress of their leaders. Additionally, it mobilised the lower ranks of capitalism, the small business class, and those aspiring to join it. After all, doesn't every young boy carry a symbol of authority, like a Lord Mayor's mace, in his school bag? According to them, the current system of "Municipal Socialism" (also known as "public capitalism") was being heavily criticised. The socialists who were involved in this activity were believed to be mounting a very effective defence. The justification of progressivism demonstrates a limited understanding of the process of social advancement. As a result, the defenders did not have the powerful weapons of the attackers, namely, "class solidarity". The army of the capitalists demonstrated its high level of organisation, when a third army corps was sent to

attack the workers' cooperative organisations. This force was armed with the strategy of 'boycott' and had already launched attacks on St. Helens, Leigh, and Darwen. Additionally, Hull, Leeds, and Wigan were under significant threat. They were willing to engage in warfare against the women and children of the worker, and in fact, they had already been assaulted. St. Helens released sixteen young ladies who were dressmakers and whose parents were members of co-operative groups. A fervent gathering took place in Wigan shortly after by the Traders' Defence League, with Mr. Councillor Gee as the chairperson. He emphasised the importance of ensuring that any funds contributed would not be used by individuals who intended to eliminate the private traders. This approach raises concerns about compliance with the Truck Acts. If cooperative organisations were able to compensate workers with goods instead of money, it would be quite simple to dismantle them. Gee said that if cooperation is taken to its natural conclusion, the working man would have no opportunity to sell his labour at the highest possible price. There would exist just a single market. Impoverished, beloved labourer. What actions would he do in such situation, considering his unfortunate circumstances? It was claimed that the capitalist closely monitors you. What is the cooperators' reaction to this? According to reports, they had agreed to the challenge and were preparing to engage in combat. The Co-operative Wholesale Society (C.W.S) was coordinating a campaign to raise funds to combat the boycott. They aimed to collect £100,000, with £50,000 already allocated by the C.W.S. Previously, in Glasgow, a similar battle resulted in the successful collection of £25,000 within a span of three weeks. The adversary employed the Town Council and Parliament as instruments in their favour. The Scotch co-operators were discussing the possibility of engaging in political action by having their own representatives in Parliament to safeguard their interests. They had already appointed representatives on public bodies who were elected as co-operators and supported a labour program that was more or less sympathetic to their cause. Until that point in time, the CWS had successfully secured employment for all individuals who had been dismissed due to their membership or association with co-operative societies. A committee was established to scrutinise the situations of individuals who were compelled to make a decision between joining a cooperative society and forfeiting their jobs. Now, the question arises: Is there no class conflict, or is there conflict among all classes? The collaborator could confidently assert, "We possess the vessels, we possess the personnel, and we possess the financial resources as well."

According to the Mid-Lothian Journal's article on November 7, 1902, certain members of the Shop Assistants' Union put out a distinctive proposition in support of an alternative model of cooperative commerce, including collaboration between shop assistants and trade unionists. The proponents' objectives were described as 'good' and the proposed system, as shown below, was rather realistic. Nevertheless, the question arises: what would the current self-proclaimed collaborators have to say about it? Would they oppose it with the same intensity as they intended to oppose the private traders' boycott? The shops were intended to be named The United Workers' Co-operative shops. The primary purpose of the shops is to facilitate the distribution of goods produced by

workers, only for the benefit of organised workers. Only trade unionists are eligible for membership. 3 -The specific purposes are to engage in the business of general merchants, including both wholesale and retail commerce, as well as the manufacturing of any products related to such trade, as directed or authorised by special meetings held periodically. 4 - No employee directly engaged by the organisation should work for more than 48 hours per week. Regarding the minimum wage, workers must be paid at least the rates set by trade unions, if such rates exist. These rates should be regarded the norm and should be continuously increased as society progresses. 6 - The purpose is to allow members to take part in an Old Age Pension Scheme, based on the amount they have purchased. 7 -The goal is to allow workers to invest their savings in the society, rather than in the Post Office or other banks. This will help to dismantle the system of charging excessive interest and pursuing excessive profits, which currently keeps them trapped as mere wage earners. The capital is £1 per share, with an initial payment of 5 shillings and subsequent monthly payments of 5 shillings until the specified quantity is acquired. Alternatively, the whole amount may be paid at the time of application. The shares of the society are withdrawable and non-transferable. Each member is limited to holding a maximum of 50 shares. Each member is entitled to just one vote. just Trade Unionists or their spouse are eligible for membership. The interest rate is 2.5% on each share, and an additional 2.5% on every pound of commerce conducted with the society. Additionally, there is a 2.5% bonus on trade conducted, which will be allocated for an old age pension. All leftover revenues will be allocated towards the expansion of the organisation.

The Hampshire Chronicle announced on December 19, 1903 the passing of Rev. Arthur Baron Sole, the rector of St. Thomas. Despite the forewarning of a serious illness that had caused great shock and sympathy in Westminster, and the numerous testimonies to the reverend gentleman's exceptional qualities and dedication to the parish, it became evident that the burden he had taken upon himself had become overwhelming, leading to a breakdown. At the beginning of that month, Sole's illness was first publicly announced when he penned the following words in the parish magazine: "I kindly request your patience as I discuss my own condition." I have had cardiac discomfort for a duration of seven weeks. Following the guidance of my trusted personal medical consultant, I recently visited London to seek the expertise of a specialist. He notifies me that I am experiencing a severe state of disarray and emphatically demands that I take a period of complete rest, if I want to have the possibility of being productive in the future. It is difficult for me to accept his choice, considering my awareness of the need for ongoing supervision of the parish, particularly during the next Christmas season and the new year. I humbly request your prayers for divine guidance in making a wise decision and doing what is morally correct during this critical moment in my life. By reading between the lines, one can perceive the significant difficulty the reverend gentleman experienced in being compelled to temporarily cease his duties as a parish priest. His response to a parishioner, who commented on his workload before his departure for London, exemplified his determination to not only resume his duties upon his return, but to also take on an even greater workload.

This demonstrated the resilient spirit that drove him, even in the face of impending death. The reverend gentleman travelled to London on Friday accompanied by Mrs. Sole in order to endure a series of baths as prescribed by his medical consultants. Mr and Mrs Sole went to church at St. Paul's on Sunday to attend Divine service. On Monday morning, they went shopping and upon their return, the reverend gentleman read letters that had been received in Winchester since his death, expressing his optimism about his future progress. At 4:00 PM on Monday, he went to the medical facility at Lancaster Gate as scheduled, where he was supposed to have a vapour bath as part of his therapy. Mrs. Sole escorted him to the entrance of the business and scheduled a meeting with him in about two hours. The reverend gentleman had just finished his bath, which was believed to have been very satisfactory. He was seated in a chair, enjoying a cup of coffee, when he suddenly screamed to the attendant, "Oh dear!" I am experiencing severe physical discomfort. Immediately seek the doctor without delay." A medical professional who was there in the residence was promptly called upon, but before the doctor could reach the room, the reverend gentleman had already died away. It appears that Mr. Sole had not sent a message to Winchester through a wired connection, asking the Bishop's Chaplain to inform Mrs. Sole. The telegram was delivered to the Deanery, where the Dean, knowing about it, immediately contacted Mr. Margerison (the rector's churchwarden and, as it was believed, his regular medical attendant) and also went to the rectory to inform the housekeeper. Meanwhile, Mrs. Sole had gone to rendezvous with her husband, but upon not finding him, she promptly returned to their lodging at Cambridge Terrace, which was around half a mile

away. Upon discovering that he had not returned home, she returned to the medical facility at Lancaster Gate and upon questioning, was informed of the events that had transpired. On Tuesday morning, the Cathedral and St. Thomas halls disseminated the information around the city, although the word had already travelled swiftly on Monday night. Upon learning of the unfortunate incident and being aware that Mrs. Sole was in London without any company, Mr. George Stroud promptly sent her a telegram, assuring her of his arrival on the same night by the mail train. His presence brought immense comfort to her, as he was capable of handling all the required preparations. Mrs. Sole's siblings, Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Paterson, together with her brother, Mr. F. Butler, arrived about noon a few days ago. The death was reported to the Coroner for the district, and on Tuesday afternoon, Mr Butler and Mr Stroud dedicated a significant amount of time determining whether an inquest would be required. It was not until eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning that it was definitively confirmed that no inquest would be conducted. The doctor's certificate, which attributed Mr Sole's cause of death to embolie apoplexy, was accepted as satisfactory. Mr Stroud, who had returned to Winchester, received a notification by wire and subsequently travelled to London on Wednesday to make arrangements for the transportation of the corpse. The body was then transported to Winchester on the evening train two days later. Upon its arrival, the Reverend F. H. Gibson (who is Mrs. Sole's brother-inlaw) and Mr. John Gale, the parish warden, greeted it. The artefact was then put on a Wellington car and transported to the Refectory. The corpse was enclosed in an airtight metallic container, while the outer casket was made of polished oak panels with a raised lid and

sturdy brass fittings. It featured a brass Latin cross and a name plate engraved with the inscription "Arthur Baron Sole, priest, died December 14th, 1903." Prior to departing from London, Mr. Struad acquired an exquisite floral cross and positioned it atop the casket. On Wednesday evening, Mrs. Sole went back to Winchester after discovering that there would be no inquiry. She was joined by her sisters. The Rev. Arthur Baron Sole, born in June 1854 in St. Neota, Huntingdonshire, was the fourth son of the deceased Dr. William Sole from that town. He had a private education until he earned a scholarship at Durham School. From there, he attended Jesus College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1877 with a Junior Op degree. Following the completion of his B.A degree, he promptly enrolled in Leeds Clergy School and was officially ordained as a Deacon on St. Thomas' Day in 1878. He then began serving as a curate under Canon Basil Wisberforce at St. Mary's Southampton. In 1880, he obtained his Master of Arts degree. In 1886, on St. Thomas' Day, he began working as the Rector of St. Thomas' parish. He was chosen by Bishop Harold Browne to replace the Rev R. P. Hutchinson. In 1888, he was designated as the Surrogate for the Diocese of Winchester. Prior to that, he had served as the Secretary of the Winchester Diocesan Conference from 1892 and held the position of Rural Dean of Winchester. Mr. Sole's father passed away at a very early age, perhaps due to cancer. When he first arrived in Winchester, his mother resided with him at the Rectory, and she remained there for a period of four to five years. In June 1891, Mr. Sole wedded Edith Mary Butler, the oldest child of the deceased Dr. Butler, who was well respected as a skilled medical professional and resident of Winchester throughout his lifetime. The deceased

gentleman, together with his wife, had one son and two daughters. Upon his arrival at St. Thomas', Mr. Sole immediately began restructuring the activities of the parish and generated renewed enthusiasm for the church's work. His remarkable energy and passion inspired the parishioners, resulting in a dedicated group of individuals from various age groups and social classes who eagerly supported and collaborated with him. Several individuals who were loyal companions to him come to mind, but unfortunately passed away before him. However, there were other unwavering friends who remained, and it is certain that they will make great efforts to effectively uphold the local institution that their beloved Rector established with great selflessness.

According to the Cork Examiner on May 25, 1904, the Trades Union Congress, taking place in Cork, Ireland, aimed to convert the railroads into worker cooperatives. On November 19, 1904, The Oxford Journal documented a significant advancement in the collaboration efforts among the agricultural labourers in North Wales. A series of productive meetings took place in several locations, resulting in the establishment of the North Wales Farmers' Association. The association's headquarters are located in Chester, with its main operational hub being in Rhyl. The share capital amounted to around £2,000, divided into £1 shares. The organisations were established in accordance with the Provident Industrial Society's Act. The organisation had several specific goals, including assisting its members in finding the most advantageous markets for buying and selling, guiding agricultural trade towards profitable avenues, preventing monopolistic practices by intermediaries, negotiating

lower railway rates, enhancing livestock quality through the ownership of purebred animals, and implementing fair methods of providing financial assistance to those in need. On June 13, 1905, The Irish News and Belfast Morning News published an article stating that the Irish Trades Union Congress aimed to establish co-operatives to collectively control all major industries.

On May 4, 1906, the Hull Daily Mail published a letter to the editor advocating for cooperation. According to the statement, the prompt arrival of one of Mr. Lewis' friends to help him indicates that his colleagues were aware that he was facing significant opposition. However, once this individual found a respectable name, they were willing to confront him either in the media or in the protected environment of the Young People's Institute. While Lewis was praised for his discretion in not dwelling on any criticism he received, he quickly moved on to another topic. Although others did not understand why he seemed upset, they failed to acknowledge the validity and logic in his argument, even though they believed he accurately assessed their shortcomings. The notion of the "poor widow" was really absurd, given that the idea of competition revolved around the "struggle of the strong," resulting in the suppression of the weak. By examining any industrial history from the 19th century, it becomes evident how mercilessly the capitalist classes exploited, plundered, and deprived the whole industrial classes. If the prices in co-operative commerce were greater than those in private trade, it would be advantageous for the struggling shopkeeper since it would allow them to improve their livelihood. Lewis has the potential to exhibit either enthusiasm or indifference, since

cooperation cannot simultaneously embody two contradictory extremes. When the typical individual trader equates religion and business, they may claim to follow Christianity, but in reality, they manipulate and exploit it for their own financial gain. These traders adulterate butter to increase their profits by 25%, as demonstrated by one trader. Another trader reveals that not only do buyers not always receive what they pay for, but they may also receive harmful or poisonous substances instead. Given these circumstances, it is best to refrain from considering their professed adherence to Christianity. The contributor expressed scepticism towards the notion that cooperation is the ultimate solution for all matters. However, they acknowledged that cooperation is indeed the initial step towards achieving industrial freedom for workers. They further emphasised that the extent to which workers cooperate with each other will directly determine their progress in that direction. Lewis said that the contributor had expressed their opinions on "True Co-operation", which, according to the allegation, were inaccurate, as is often the case with the gentleman's assertions. He accepted Lewis' challenge and demonstrated that the act of cooperating aligned with its own definition of "true cooperation". Now, he requested permission to present the argument in a way that is easily comprehensible even to the youngest of their audience. This affluent individual, by purchasing his goods in bulk, was able to bypass the sellers' markups. Instead of buving coal in little amounts, such as a quarter or half tonne, he opted to purchase it by the truckload, resulting in significant cost savings. The working individual was unable to do this task due to two factors: firstly, a lack of resources; and secondly, a lack of storage capacity. Nevertheless, in the event that, for

instance, twelve workers collaborate to acquire a truckload of coal, they will thereafter get equal benefits and proportional savings comparable to their wealthier neighbour. According to what was said, it was the fundamental premise of collaboration. Working individuals pooled their shillings and pounds, purchased goods in large quantities, and sold them to themselves at retail rates. After deducting administration expenses, the resulting profit was distributed among them based on the amount they purchased. Interest was paid for every pound invested at a 5% rate. It was contended that trade had historically and continues to be the method through which wealth was generated and capital accumulated. The primary objective of co-operators was to engage in commerce at their own establishment and retain the earnings for their own use. The objective is not to eliminate profits, but rather to preserve and increase capital in order to use it and therefore eliminate the competing interests of capital. Capital should serve as an auxiliary to labour, rather than its master. A Cooperative Society is a company that is funded, owned, and governed by the individuals who trade at its stores, namely its members. Therefore, it is totally a private enterprise. The system was fundamentally democratic, with each member having an equal vote. Its success served as a valuable demonstration of democratic principles. Prior to cooperation, the existence of capital served as the prerequisite for voting, however it had instilled the belief that man had a superior status to capital. All unbiased observers acknowledged that their tactics exhibited a significant level of efficiency, which greatly benefited the members. The Departmental Committee appointed by the previous government to examine the issue of income tax acknowledged the

clear benefits of cooperation. They stated that the process of providing periodic returns to members was conducive to saving and saw no reason to discourage it. It was argued that Lewis would not suggest that grocers sell products at cost price, which would be the alternative to receiving dividends or the return of the surplus over cost price. Would their detractors be more content if they reduced their pricing to the point where they did not provide any dividends? He believed that they would not, since they would discover that their final condition would be far more unfavourable than their initial one. The specious logic and grandiloquent rhetoric of Lewis were strikingly similar to the obsolete "Trade-man and Shopkeeper." Despite the secretary of the Traders' Defence Association's attempts at sophistry and questionable poetry, they were unable to impede the relentless wave of working-class efforts to liberate themselves from the oppression of the capitalist classes. When evaluated using logical reasoning, it was argued that Lewis and his colleagues had an attitude like the statement, "you are obligated to shop at our stores." "You are not allowed to send the money you have earned to the place that benefits you the most, but to the place that we manage." This was an act of compulsion that the workers really disliked, and they expressed their discontent by joining the Hull Society in huge numbers. It prompted individuals to contemplate and experiment with the advantages of collaboration, and if they were able to sustain themselves, they were content to entrust the evaluation to the judges. The submitter identified themselves as W. Litchfield

According to the Manchester Evening News on 11 June 1906, the next annual congress of the women's cooperative guild in Ipswich was expected to be an exceptionally captivating event related to the formation of co-operative women. The two specific topics designated for discussion were "The Co-operative Store Abroad: A Comparison" and "Co-operators and the Labour Party." In her paper addressing the co-operative movement in foreign nations, Miss Le Davies, the general secretary, demonstrated the significant disparity between English co-operators and their Belgian counterparts. The Rochdale weavers, via the establishment of the Equitable Pioneers' Society, provided as a model and inspiration for cooperative movements worldwide. Similarly, the Voornit of Ghent played a similar role, influencing socialist workers in France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. There was a Belgian system of workers' co-operation, similar to the Rochdale method. The Voornit Society functioned as both a commercial enterprise and a source of funding for the workers' physical, intellectual, artistic, and civic needs. The Ghent labourer now acquired his doctor's services and medications via the co-operative organisation, which offered a total of twenty general practitioners, six specialists, as well as a hospital and a surgical facility affiliated with the Voornit. Additionally, provisions were created to cater to the needs of individuals in their latter years of life. Cooperators who had been members for 20 years were entitled to receive a pension of £4 15s per year, paid in goods, after they reached the age of 60. In the event of the husband's death before to reaching the age of 60, the duration of his membership would be attributed to his wife, and she would be entitled to receive his pension if she outlived him. The funding for these provisions was derived from the grocery department's earnings, after the distribution of a 6% dividend. The children were also taken care of, as there were creches

and kindergartens located in various areas of the town. The society recognised the importance of artistic expression in life and employed its own skilled sculptor, Van Biesbroeck, who created impressive sculptures depicting the "great epics of labour" that adorned the Voornit buildings. The intention was that via examining the activities and principles of cooperators in other nations, the delegates attending the next Ipswich Congress would get a heightened awareness of the areas where co-operators in England were falling short. The objective of the article was to demonstrate that by expanding its concepts, the cooperative movement in England might regain its former excitement and become a valuable and influential force in certain areas. The delegates would be requested to approve a resolution acknowledging the significance of utilising cooperative revenues collectively. It was suggested that guild branches nationwide should present to their societies the proposal of establishing a medical assistance department and a dispensary for infants. Another resolution endorsed the implementation of a government-mandated minimum wage for women's work

On October 20, 1906, the Oxford Journal documented that a lecture on "Ideal Conditions of Labour" was delivered by Mr. J. Rowbottom of Manchester. The talk took place at the Assembly Room, City Buildings, and was organised by the Oxford Co-operative Education Committee. It attracted a substantial crowd. Mr. F. Charles provided a concise introduction of the presenter. Mr. Rowbottom said that the topic of his presentation was one that was of great importance to all of them. The era of cottage industry has seen significant

progress. The introduction of steam had not yielded good outcomes for the workers, since it had only boosted the profits of the capitalist without reducing the working hours of the labourer. In the pursuit of substantial profits, human well-being and comfort were disregarded, as the relentless pursuit of riches took precedence. The measure of a nation's success was determined by the abundance of healthy, content, and satisfied people it housed. England had a large population of white slaves who endured such harsh circumstances that death was considered a better alternative. A significant portion of the devastation, criminal activity, and destitution may be attributed to alcohol use. However, the speaker holds the belief that although it is well acknowledged that alcohol can lead to poverty in some situations, a larger number of individuals turn to alcohol as a result of poverty and inadequate living conditions. He had a strong conviction that incorporating improvements in their workplaces and houses would enhance the dignity of employment and increase their enjoyment of their job. According to the assertion, a significant portion of the crime in the nation was caused by unfavourable legislation that favoured just a small group of people, resulting in the deprivation of benefits for the majority. Could they anticipate that ladies would have a genuine interest in such dilapidated buildings as he had saw in Oxford that day? It was now well acknowledged that in order to maximise a person's potential, they must be treated with sufficient care and respect. This fact was supported by undeniable statistics, which revealed that thousands of lives were lost each year due to the terrible circumstances present in their industrial areas. The concept of ideal labour circumstances is considered to have a dual nature, since it is believed to be

advantageous for both the employer and the worker. Collaboration has significantly contributed to the reduction of working hours, rise in wages, and establishment of a consistent half-day off. According to reports, the talk was accompanied by an extensive display of cinematograph films, spanning over a mile in length.

According to the Staffordshire Sentinel's article on December 15, 1906, a gathering of the North Stafford Trades and Labour Council took place, with Mr. J. Morris serving as the chairperson. The following individuals were also present: Messrs J. Lovatt, J. Booth, N. Orpe, W. Smith, C. I. Bullock, T. Brough, T. Bramner, J. T. Jones, W.A Wayte, J. Campbell, A. Littler, J. Cummings, J. Flannagan, W. Eason, C. A. Cooper, J. Carr, R. Ford, R. E. Walton, J. Cartlidge, H. Pearson, R. Coxon Yorke, W. M. Prince, H. Pointon, J. H. Plant, F. W. Hughes, F. J. Clarkson, G. T. Asbin, W. Waite, Levi Jackson, H. Harvey, J. Ball, J. Hewitt, W. Tomilson, W. Halket, C. Warner, J. Mitchell, and E. Dickinson.

Mr. Wait of Tunstall proposed that, in the view of this Council, the negative aspects of contemporary industry and commerce, such as exploitative labour conditions and oppressive agreements, can only be resolved and eliminated through the collaborative efforts of workers to produce the goods and services that everyone needs. The speaker, who spoke extensively, stated that the resolution was a logical result of a previous discussion held during the last meeting. He remained silent when the suggestion of boycotting was brought up, since he believed that boycotting would not effectively eliminate

the industrial problems. He considered boycotting to be a temporary solution with little impact. Furthermore, the impediments to implementing a boycott were significant and many. He attempted to ascertain the number of individuals among them who were aware of the reputable stores in North Staffordshire - how many could confidently affirm that the bread had been manufactured under ethical circumstances. The current system was detrimental not just to the producer but also to the consumer. Moreover, because the worker played the dual role of producer and consumer, the system inherently oppressed the worker. The one effective approach to address the malevolent circumstances they lamented was to eliminate the underlying incentive that had caused these grave consequences. Is it possible to replace it with a superior one? The solution that would harmonise their interests was collaboration in its broadest scope. The pinnacle aspiration of trade unionism was precisely what the co-operative movement had successfully achieved. The speaker closed by emphatically endorsing the co-operative ideal. Mr. Tomilson from Longton provided a second. He strongly disagreed with the previous speaker's assertion that cooperation was the ultimate principle of trade unionism. He believed that the primary objective of trades unionism was to engage in collective bargaining in order to get higher salaries and improve working conditions. The resolution was unanimously approved.

The Smethwick Telephone, in its report on 1 June 1907, said that at the Easter Conferences of the Friendly Societies, there was a noticeable increase in support for the implementation of State Old Age Pensions. The heads of the prominent Friendly Societies have

completely relinquished their previous stance of opposition towards any proposal for governmentprovided pensions for the elderly. Their current stance was that they would embrace a nationwide system that did not have the intention to harm the Friendly Societies. Undoubtedly, the progress of public opinion was so significant that the criticism of Mr. Asquith for not having made a more successful start was stated in terms as forceful as that of a Trade Union Congress. The contributor believed that the Friendly Societies had no need to be concerned about any potential Old Age Pensions system provided by the State, since it would neither harm nor compete with the commendable efforts of the Friendly Societies. It would be an immeasurable tragedy if such an event were to occur. The immense contribution made by these esteemed working-class groups was really immeasurable. However, it is important to acknowledge that they were unable to find a solution to the issue of supporting the elderly, without diminishing the significance of their efforts. Their success was incomplete due to the magnitude of the task, which made it difficult to achieve full completion via voluntary efforts alone. There was a strong belief that implementing a State pension system would greatly encourage the growth of Friendly Societies. The primary hindrance to the implementation of frugality among the labourers was the pervasive sense of despair that any action taken to economise would yield such little results as to render it futile. Despair annihilated both hope and endeavour. Nevertheless, the provision of a modest pension in old age would serve as an incentive to make further preparations, so ensuring a sufficient level of comfort throughout one's latter years. By offering the opportunity to establish an additional endowment, the

Friendly Societies would have access to a wide and unexplored area for development. The Co-operative Congress that year was unremarkable for any exciting events. The Congress's deliberation on the minimum wage was widely regarded as the most significant undertaking from several perspectives. This issue highlighted the fundamental premise of the cooperative movement. There was a risk of excessively focussing on the consumer's perspective while considering the co-operative movement. Frequently, there was a fear that the consumer's interests were prioritised above those of the co-operative worker. Cooperation was deemed unsuccessful unless it yielded benefits to all participating parties. Priority should be given to the demands of the workers. The increase in dividends resulting from the underpaid labour and excessive working hours of the workers was not only morally wrong, but much more so in the co-operative movement compared to the profits earned via similar means in private capitalism. It has been said that it could be challenging, given the current state of human nature, to provide others with better circumstances than what one is personally experiencing. The overwhelming bulk of the co-operative societies' membership consisted of labourers with little incomes and extensive working hours. There was a tendency among these individuals to independently control and set the salary and working hours of co-operative workers. It was believed that this factor was the primary cause for the limited success of cooperative groups in improving job conditions. They were not accusing the whole co-operative movement. The average circumstances of this place were superior than the overall average of the nation. A small number of the bigger societies were much more advanced than the

usual circumstances in other areas. Nevertheless, in the majority of instances, there was potential for enhancement, and it was universally regarded as a commendable accomplishment for the cooperative societies to establish as a priority that the initial allocation of funds should be a minimum wage, determined by a level of comfort that surpasses what can be attained through competition.

An article published on 4 October 1907 in the Todmorden & District News detailed a co-operative meeting that took place at Bridge End, Todmorden. The Calderdale District Co-operative Association hosted their quarterly conference in collaboration with the Bridge End Equitable Progressionists Society in Todmorden. A significant number of delegates from different affiliated societies, including several representatives from the Women's Guild, attended the meeting. Mr. W. Swain, the president of the Bridge End Society, was chosen to chair the meeting and was accompanied on the stage by the executive committee members of the Association: Messrs J. Craven (the chairman) from Hebdenbridge, J. W. Crabtree from Todmorden, J. Waddington from Sowerby-bridge, and Chas. Wood of Brighouse, A. Binns (secretary) of Sowerby-bridge, and J. Greenwood of Hebdenbridge is the representative of the sectional Board of the Cooperative Union Ltd. Following a warm greeting from Mr. Swain, the delegates were presented with a presentation by Mr. Leah, who represented the Cooperative Insurance Society. The paper discussed the "Method of Collective Life Assurance" used by the society. During the 1904 annual meeting of the Cooperative Insurance Society, the chairman presented a technique of collective life assurance that was

specifically designed for co-operative societies. Both the premium and the total insured were directly proportional to the members' purchases. Additionally, no society was required to commit to the program for more than one year. Experience was used to demonstrate its worth, and the manner of allocating the excess was calculated to support the continuation of this communal approach after it was implemented. The standard accounting of a cooperative society provided all the essential details for determining the premium, quantities guaranteed, and the comprehensive set of records that would be required for the different insurance policies it eliminated. Under this plan, an insured society had no responsibilities or obligations except for paying the premium. Its involvement only began when a member passed away. At that time, it was only required to present the registrar's death certificate. determine the deceased member's average purchases, and compensate their representative accordingly. The Insurance Society would reimburse the amount paid, either immediately or in agreed installments. Additionally, one of the Insurance Society's staff members would regularly review the statements of members' purchases in the society's records. outcome was a decrease in both workload and expenses. In comparison to the average cost of industrial assurance with weekly premium collection, which is over 43%, the expected cost did not exceed 5% of the premiums. The directors made the decision to cap the expense charge at this rate, similar to how expenses in other branches are limited to specific percentages of the premiums. Any excess amount, if applicable, would be recorded in the profit and loss account. The Insurance Society offered a policy to members of a co-operative society, which covered the

cost of their purchases in the last balance sheet. The premium for this policy was one penny for every £1 of purchases. The policy provided coverage for members who died within the policy term and had purchases recorded in the year leading up to their death. The coverage amount was calculated by multiplying four shillings by the value of the member's average annual purchases. For example, if a member had an average annual purchase value of £10, they would receive £2 in coverage upon their death. Members with different average purchase values would receive proportionate benefits. To avoid the need for assessing the age and health of individual members before providing them with insurance, the Insurance Society decided to take measures to prevent financial losses caused by a large number of elderly and ill members joining. It achieved this by establishing the average yearly purchase over a certain period of time as the criterion for calculating the amount insured, rather than basing it on the actual purchase made in a single year. These safeguards were deemed required to prevent accidental death claims. If the time period during which a member's purchases were recorded is less than the average lifespan, the amount of insurance coverage in the event of accidental death will be at least 4 shillings for every £1 of purchases made in the year leading up to their death. When both the husband and wife were members together for the entire average term relevant to the age of the first person to pass away, the insurance coverage would be divided such that half of the joint purchases would be allocated to each individual, and the remaining half would be considered as purchased solely by the surviving individual, who would then be insured as a single member. In the absence of joint membership, a husband and wife might be collectively

insured by a specific agreement that is equally relevant to all married members of a society. When a joint member is added or when there is a transfer or replacement of a household member, the person who is added, transferred, or substituted is considered a new member starting from the date of the change. When a member departs from a collectively insured society, their purchases made over the duration of their membership are included towards the overall amount. If a member is removed, their assurance remains in effect until the end of the time for which the premium was paid, regardless of whether they join another organisation that provides collective assurance to its members or not. Nevertheless, after the collective policy term, which provided assurance for him, ended, they were no longer insured by it. To continue receiving the benefit, they had to get a separate insurance for their own individual life. The premium for collective life assurance was determined by calculating the average number of deaths in a single year among all persons who were no older than seventy years. It was anticipated that the higher mortality rates at older ages would be balanced out by spreading the costs over several policyholders. The collective premium did not contain any additional amount set aside for future liabilities beyond the insurance period. The surplus was dispersed on a yearly basis. As a result, individuals could only make a claim in the event of death within the paid-for term. The restriction on the extent of the program was deemed vital to ensure that each society had complete autonomy to choose whether to maintain or terminate the insurance without causing any harm to people. An advantage of this kind of collective assurance was that the benefits were directly proportional to the size of the family at home, creating

a clear correlation between the breadwinner's obligations and the amount of insurance coverage. Upon the society's request, an arrangement would be implemented to provide benefits to all members who were relocating to areas where collective life assurance seemed to be unavailable. The proposal did not suggest that members of cooperative societies should have stopped any current procedures or ceased to personally provide assurance. The collective technique was suggested as an additional approach for buying members to enhance their advantages effortlessly and at little cost. On December 31, 1906, a total of 27 societies, consisting of 48,380 members, were guaranteed and 496 death claims were settled. The statement summarises the transactions of the collective branch for the year 1906. The income brought from the year 1906 was £1,471 1s 3d, with premiums totalling £4,579 5d 8d and interest amounting to £51 9s 2d. The total income was £8,111 16s 1d. The expenditure included claims of £3,195 3s 5d, expenses of £223 12s 4d, and a bonus paid of £787 6s. This resulted in a surplus of £1,900 7s 4d. The total amount in the collective life assurance fund at the end of the year was £1,900 7s 4d. This value was equivalent to almost 37% of the premiums collected throughout the year. This indicates that in 1908, an average premium of less than two-thirds of a cent was sufficient to offer this kind of guarantee. An excess amount of £1,380 2s 3d had been distributed among the policyholders that are eligible to receive a share based on their respective contributions. This amount will be withdrawn from their premiums for the following year, either half-yearly or quarterly. The remainder had been transferred to benefit societies that still maintained active insurance policies. Each society, when applying for a collective life assurance

policy, agreed to pay the premium for one year. However, for their convenience, policies were issued quarterly or half-yearly. Each year, one of these policies would expire on 31 December, which marked the end of the Insurance Society's financial year. At this time, any surplus would be determined. Every society that had been guaranteed for a full year shared in the excess in accordance with its own commitment to it. If a society chooses to terminate the collective guarantee of its members after a year's agreement, any excess funds from its operations would be subject to a 5% deduction, with the remaining amount being refunded. In the circular distributed to societies to introduce this scheme, the directors stated that the implementation of this method of collective assurance is anticipated to encourage members to make larger purchases from their stores. They also expect that the growth in business will lead to a proportional decrease in expenses, and that the resulting increase in profit will mostly or completely offset the cost.

While it was not realistic to anticipate such an outcome within a two-year timeframe, the experiences of societies that have implemented it validated the expectations of the Insurance Board. The following societies had the respective number of members: Macclesfield (4,800), Burry Port (164), Workington Beehive (1,532), Milnsbridge (1,143), Sowerby-bridge (3,300), Higher Hurst (1,145), Woodley, near Stockport (362), Cleator Moor (5,600), Marake-by-the-Sea (348), Wetherby (330), Burslem (1,020), Bedlington (1,764), Radcliffe (376). At a conference in Northwich on August 19, 1906, Mr. J. Emmett, the manager of the Winnington, Northwich and District Co-operative Society, presented a paper on the topic of "Collective

Assurance". In his speech, he emphasised the significant advantages of implementing collective assurance, as demonstrated by the Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd. This approach not only enhances the benefits for individuals but also provides co-operation with a potent and multifaceted tool. This system offers wholesale retail assurance, similar to the assurance provided for individual commodities. It is straightforward to implement and may be quickly integrated into a society's accounting system. The system is fair, impartial, and collaborative, and serves as a remarkable illustration of simplifying processes. It offers advantages to a large number of individuals effortlessly and with little awareness on their side.

Queries were first solicited. Mr. Leah responded by stating that the Co-operative Insurance Society had found that there was little disparity in the payments made to members who were over 63 years old compared to younger members. Specifically, they paid out £6 11s 2d per member to the older group and £6 17s to the younger people. Delegates needed to consider that this was a collaborative program, including reciprocal assistance. Certain organisations contributed more than they received, while others contributed less than they received. One provided assistance to the other. An unnamed female delegate expressed her disapproval of insurance, citing the inconvenience of frequent visits from collectors as a major deterrent. Undoubtedly, it was said that everyone was aware of ladies concealing themselves under the table and children fabricating various explanations for their absence. However, the collectors patiently waited until they finally emerged from their hiding spot. It was said that the 'kind of situation' was really degrading. It was

proposed that a method be developed to insure them without the need for collectors, which she believed would greatly enhance their dignity. Mr. Charles Wood, a resident of Brighouse, expressed his disapproval of the idea presented to them that afternoon. While acknowledging its potential as one of the most commendable collaborative initiatives, he had reservations about its efficacy in promoting the welfare of all individuals in the United Kingdom. He proposed that collective insurance be implemented by either the Municipality or the Government. He contended that it was essential for all of them to be obligated to contribute to it. He firmly believed that the suggested concept would not be adopted by the whole cooperative movement. According to Mr. Clayton, a representative of the Co-operative Insurance Society in Bradford, insurance is not acknowledged as an essential need for the working class. Given this circumstance, the subsequent objective was to get the insurance at the lowest cost feasible. The Co-operative Insurance Society offers the most cost-effective coverage compared to any other society or insurance firm worldwide. In terms of cost, they were far superior than any other options available to the British people. The issue of older members not receiving the same benefits as younger members was brought up, but Mr. Leah had previously shown that they were receiving almost identical amounts in claims. Although their contributions were not substantial, they were much less when they had a smaller family and made smaller expenditures. He was certain that the more the comprehension of this plan, the more favourably it would be received

Mr. Richardson, a resident of Bradford and representing the Sowerby-bridge Flour Society, had a different opinion from Mr. Wood. His perception of municipalities was that they did not handle things in a cost-effective manner. He had the belief that the opposition to the proposal mostly came from the women, since they were concerned about a reduction in their dividends by a penny (which was met with laughter and exclamations of "no, no"). Mr. J. Waddington of Sowerby-bridge considered the concept to be excellent and very manageable. According to him, it was much preferable than the constant presence of collectors at the door (laughing ensued once again). According to Mrs. Barrett of Todmorden, ladies in Bradford, as shown by Mr. Richardson's comment, differ from the women in Sower-bridge. The latter informed her that this collective insurance system was considered one of the most commendable initiatives ever undertaken by their community. Mr. Clegg, a resident of Stainland, said that the system was deficient since it only catered to members and not their whole families. Leah pointed out to Clegg that the program was still in its early stages and had been proposed primarily as an experiment rather than anything more. With more expertise, they were able to expand their activities as intended. The directors were already considering a plan to handle the children of members. Councillor James R. Dawson of Walsden expressed his belief that Clegg had accurately identified one of the vulnerabilities of the program. The co-operators would have been more inclined to adopt the idea if it had included both members and their families. He was pleased to learn that the filmmakers were contemplating this vulnerability. In his own perspective, he believed that there could not be any

differing viewpoints about the advantages of a communal plan in comparison to regular insurance. The report included many data and statistics that provided a comprehensive understanding of insurance techniques and the associated expenses. He believed that including members' families into this system would greatly improve the co-operative world.

According to Mr. Arthur Binns, the secretary, the Sowerby-bridge organisation has gained a surplus of £580 compared to their expenses. He was aware that the program had provided significant advantages to several participants. Mr. Waddington proposed a motion that required all the delegates in attendance to promote the Co-operative Insurance Society's life assurance technique to their local societies. They were to evaluate whether it would be beneficial to advocate this approach to their members for adoption. Mr J. W. Crabtree from Todmorden supported the motion as a second. He said that the strategy presented to them that afternoon was an improvement above the previous insurance structure. The resolution was subsequently proposed and enthusiastically approved. Mr. J. Craven of Hebdenbridge proposed a move to express gratitude to Mr. Leah for his gift, and a unanimous vote of appreciation was given. Mr. Swain was also acknowledged and appreciated for his contributions and leadership as a chairman. Subsequently, the delegates convened and had a cup of tea, which was generously provided by the Bridge-end Society and sourced from the Todmorden Co-operative Society. The Bridge-end Society was formally thanked for entertaining the delegates, and Councillor F. Pickles, who is one of the directors, delivered an appropriate answer.

An individual using the alias 'Fair Trader' expressed disapproval of the legal standing of co-operatives in a letter to the editor published in the Leicester Daily Post on July 14, 1908. The topic of co-operative societies and income tax was discussed at the Grocers' Federation in Middlesborough, according to reports. They expressed the need to address this issue, stating that it was long overdue. The question was raised as to why these trading entities should be allowed to conduct their business without being subjected to the same taxation as individuals. They said that it was dishonest to the nation. It was noted that the Industrial Provident Societies Act, which governed the registration of cooperative societies, was not designed to protect the largest and most powerful contemporary commercial firms. It was reported that more than £12 million was likely to be subjected to taxation. They proposed convening a collective assembly of trade and professional organisations to choose a committee and engage with their respective Members of Parliament over the matter.

The Wharfedale & Airedale Observer published an article on July 31, 1908, which mentioned Cllr. Priestman emphasised at a public gathering that the labour movement was of significant magnitude, and it would be unwise for anybody to ignore its existence. Regarding the topic of 'The Problem of Poverty', he said that there was a growing inquiry into the reasons behind the prevalence of poverty in this affluent nation. Socialists had thoroughly examined the matter and maintained that there was no justification for the existence of poverty. The prevailing industrial circumstances of that era inevitably necessitated the advent of socialism, when the populace would assume

authority over the means of production, distribution, and trade. He said that several towns had acquired control of gas, water, and electrical services. Under the competitive system, products were created with the aim of generating profit rather than serving the public good. During that period, the primary purpose of educating their children was not just for their personal development, but rather to produce skilled labourers who could contribute to the capitalist system and prevent foreign competitors from dominating the country's commerce. Out of the total population, 75% were individuals who earned wages. These wageearners held the political power and had the ability to bring about any desired changes. However, they chose to elect representatives from the capitalist classes to Parliament. These representatives prioritised their own interests and neglected the concerns of the workers. Priestman argued that the competitive system, whether under Free Trade or Protection, will never lead to the overall benefit of the whole society. This is especially true as long as capitalists continue to wield significant influence. Their affluence gave them a level of authority that beyond any earlier era. He said that they exerted their influence over the people by creating monopolies in industries such as cotton. He emphasised that when a small group of individuals had the majority of the capital, the control they had over the terms of living and working conditions was very significant. As the number of millionaires increased, the number of paupers also multiplied. The current allocation of desirable resources cannot be either smart or kind. Arguing against the idea of supporting his assertion, he said that capitalists who export equipment for producing goods to other countries are pursuing a selfdestructive strategy, as it would facilitate foreign

nations in competing with them. The speaker further ascribed the claimed 'physical degradation of the race' to the impact of the competitive system, characterised by extended working hours and inadequate remuneration. This was shown by the rejection of three out of every five men who volunteered for duty in South Africa. He discussed the decline of private employers and the emergence of limited liability firms. joint stock companies, and syndicates. He noted that syndicates had become very prevalent in the United States, with 4% of the population owning 87% of the country's wealth. It was said that the statistics were so remarkable that he felt compelled to repeat them. That is the result of the influence of Protection and the advantage of skilled negotiators for the American population. It was necessary for them to intervene in the capitalist classes and replace competition with cooperation. Denmark has implemented measures regarding dairy production, resulting in a significant improvement in the people's economic well-being. Ultimately, he said that both the Liberal and Tory parties endorsed capitalism. He argued that for England to really represent the interests of the majority rather than a select few, 75% of the workers would cast their votes and declare their rejection of the capitalist system. Socialism would provide all individuals, even the most modest, with the joyful existence that God intended for every human being, regardless of age or gender, in their beloved homeland.

The London Daily News, on 12 December 1908, published an article titled 'Co-operative Housekeeping on a Small Scale' in a section called 'For the Woman Worker'. The article highlighted that the issue of providing suitable housing for educated working men

was far from resolved. This may be attributed to the tendency of these women to keep their salaries a secret. as well as a failure on the part of those attempting to address the issue to recognise that these women required more than just basic necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing. Initially, the income of the accomplished female employee seldom exceeded an average of £150 per year. There were a small minority, around 1%, who sometimes made four-figure salaries. However, a large group of workers, including teachers, typists, nurses, leather workers, designers, and secretaries, paid far less than £3 per week. The typist in the City earned an average wage of 30s per week. Flats for women were planned to be offered at affordable rents, as low as 9 shillings per week, in the Hampstead area known as the Garden City. However, when considering additional expenses such as utilities. services, transport, food and clothing, it became clear that there would be little money left over for discretionary spending, medical expenses or saving for the future, especially for women earning £100 per year or less. According to the article, the average working woman had limited housing options, including a lowquality boarding house in Bloomsbury, a bedroom in a suburban household with access to the living room, a few empty rooms in an unspecified location, or living in women's apartment buildings with strict rules and additional charges. For individuals who were resourceful and independent, there was a solution available in the form of small-scale cooperative housekeeping. The first experiment caught the attention of the newspaper seven years ago. Four females collaborated and pooled their little cash to invest in furnishings. With their investment, they acquired a home in the suburb. They reached a consensus to

implement the plan for a minimum duration of one year. Additionally, any female individual desiring to opt out of the plan was required to provide a notice period of three months. In return, she would get a certain amount from the remaining participants as compensation for her contribution towards the furnishings. Out of the first four individuals, just one stayed, while two got married and one relocated to Australia. However, there was never any trouble in finding replacements for the vacancies, and the system, in its current state, was very successful. Each female incurred a cost of £1 for board, housing, laundry, service, and tickets. The house's rent was £48, which included all expenses. However, each girl contributed 5 shillings to the rent fund. The extra £4 collected at the end of each year was used for the required replacement of chinaware and linens. The season tickets, for which they received a little discount due to being "four in the same family", were priced at 3s each week. They employed a cook-housekeeper who received an annual salary of £20 and was responsible for all the laundry. Additionally, a weekly budget of £2 was allocated for housekeeping costs. In this specific instance, each young woman took on the responsibility of providing furniture for her own bedroom and paid £7 towards outfitting the remainder of the home. With a budget of £28, one could make significant purchases such as stained floors and rugs to replace carpets. The furniture, predominantly wicker chairs and bamboo settees, could be obtained at a reasonable price. Kitchen utensils and crockery ware could be acquired from the affordable "5.5d bazaar." In terms of the bedrooms, it was customary for one of them to be furnished with a truckle bed, a chair, and two boxes for the initial three months. Initially, the task of housekeeping was

assigned to the servant. However, the agreement at that time was for each female to take turns being responsible for a month, and the others were required to withhold any complaints until the end of that period. There were a mere four extras. A fire in the bedroom costs 2.5 pence per scuttle of coal. The bedroom light costs 1 penny. Having a visitor for tea costs 6 pence, while having a guest for supper costs 1 shilling and 6 pence. For male visitors, a two-day notice was customary, but it was not strictly enforced.

The benefits of the concept were considered to be rather evident at the time. Each girl was provided with a bedroom, as well as access to a sitting room, dining room, and a multipurpose area known as the "workroom" for writing or sewing. Their garden was delightful, providing them with complete freedom and just the right amount of responsibility to add excitement to their lives. Thanks to their business training, they were able to create an efficient and lowmaintenance housekeeping plan. Each woman had her own expertise in cooking, and they enjoyed inviting men to enjoy a four-course dinner prepared by these supposedly non-domesticated businesswomen. The system was inherently adaptable to many forms and modifications. In one instance, a smaller dwelling was acquired, leading to two females sharing a room. In another scenario, a residence was secured where the transportation expenses to the city amounted to just 2d per day. Lastly, a widow offered her assistance in exchange for accommodations and meals.

Labour Leader published an article on August 13, 1909, discussing the progress of cooperation. The answer was

prompted by the belief that cooperation was equated with dividing and conquering, and that in this regard it was comparable to regular business enterprises. The question was raised as to whether it was not rather 'unfair' to the co-operative movement to hold this perspective and disregard its more significant contributions. It was questioned what happened to the large sums of money spent by co-operative societies on educational initiatives, such as organising meetings, establishing libraries, and providing other resources to enhance the knowledge and skills of co-operators. Once again, it was said that the collaborative training provided in the field of management would be very beneficial for the future of democracy. Cooperation, in the contributor's opinion, had a role in improving the worker's quality of life and therefore led to the emergence of individuals who were more inclined towards accepting Christian Socialism. As a socialist, the concept of organised democracy held a stronger appeal to them than any other social aspect. Consequently, they believed that every socialist should endorse and actively participate in the cooperative movement, despite its limitations under capitalism. According to them, the labour union cause offered a parallel. The author contended that trade unionism does not inherently equate to socialism, but rather offers a favourable platform for the advancement of socialist ideals. They said that if they had given up their position to non-socialists, it would be inconceivable that this progress could have been achieved. The co-operative movement, owing to the intricate structure of society and the challenges it faced, offered socialists the chance to provide guidance given the nature of its goals.

The well-established journal, Labour Leader, provided an elaborate account of the Trades Union Congress on September 17, 1909. James Sexton, representing the National Union of Dock Labourers, proposed a resolution stating that any Labour Exchange scheme must meet certain criteria. These criteria include ensuring sufficient availability of workers, preventing the reduction of trade union rates and conditions, prohibiting the use of exchanges to supply replacement workers during disputes, providing adequate support for female workers, and offering facilities for trade union meetings within the exchanges. The resolution was unanimously adopted following a lengthy debate, notable for the prominent presence of Mr. Will Thorne M.P. His depiction of labourers peacefully waiting in comfortable exchanges instead of engaging in confrontations at the dock gates on harsh and chilly days strongly resonated with the congress.

An article headlined "Bank for Workers" was published by the Belfast Telegraph on September 23, 1910. The piece was captioned "Co-operation in Finance." The cooperative bank's support for working-men during strikes and lock-outs was discussed in relation to the inauguration of the People's Bank in Mount Street, Manchester. Mr R. A. Yerburgh M.P. president of the Co-operative Banks Association, inaugurated the bank, which was designed to operate on co-operative principles. During the meeting, the Mayor of Salford highlighted the benefits of this financial institution. The mayor expressed his optimism that the combined powers of civilisation and rationality would be enough to avoid the lockout of the cotton workers, in reference to the crisis in the cotton trade. Assuming that a catastrophic disaster occurred and thousands of cotton

workers saw a slow decline in their financial means, they might rely on the people's bank for aid during times of hardship, provided they were members. Having a financial reserve in the bank would enable the working class to assert their independence and engage in more effective negotiations with employers during strikes or lockouts. Regarding the circumstances at that time, the mayor said that at times of need, the only available options for working-class people were the pawnbroker and the moneylender. Although he held the belief that pawnbrokers, as a collective, were honourable individuals deserving of respect, he did not consider it an ideal situation for people to borrow money against their clothing on Monday and redeem them on Saturday after paying interest. Workers would benefit from obtaining critical items via other methods. According to Mr. H. C. Devine, the secretary of the organisation, one of the most unfortunate consequences of co-operative credit is the proliferation of several institutions that are fraudulent or fake co-operative banks. Every institution of that kind had been sufficiently competent to approach and give them substantial amounts of money to assist in exploiting the labour force of the nation. According to him, the most effective method of combating such institutions is by establishing high-quality institutions.

An intriguing conversation occurred during the quarterly meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland branch of the Co-operative Union at Wigton on 11 May 1911, as recorded by The Carlisle Journal. The debate revolved on the goals and purposes of co-operation. The co-operative movement, needless to mention, once included more than just a system of distributing profits. Some of the most passionate co-operators still strive to

uphold the traditional values. Nevertheless, these guys were the outliers. Mr. Murdoch from Workington expressed his dissatisfaction with the tendency of individuals to oppose any proposals for improvement at the semi-annual or quarterly meetings, as if the only purpose of cooperation was limited to sales and profits. According to Mr. Irving Graham, the typical cooperator lacks a strong understanding of cooperation to the extent that they easily forget about their loyalty to a business if they find a cheaper alternative elsewhere. Based on this, it seems that the typical member was motivated to be a co-operator due to the personal benefits it provided, such as dividends. Additionally, it must be overlooked that the success of co-operation was largely attributed to the presence of dividends. The initial principles have been largely lost due in part to altered circumstances. Other agencies were now achieving many of the initial objectives of the movement's founders. The State now provides education more comprehensively, yet the investment on this endeavour does not generate excitement. If the Cooperative Societies were to take the initiative in areas such as improving housing and improving the conditions of workers, they may have encouraged a true spirit of cooperation. The Co-operators have shown their potential as exemplary employers. It is encouraging to see that measures are being implemented in Carslisle to provide young workers with the chance to attend evening programs without excessively burdening their energy levels. Despite the many benefits of the system, it must be acknowledged that members did not abandon the society due to being better treated elsewhere. Members would not always leave the Societies only because of low prices.

However, the relaxed approach used by certain "stores" would not be accepted for long in other places.

Dr. Marion Philips, from London, gave a talk on education and workers at the Co-operative Hall in Todmorden on 15 March 1912. The event was organised by the Education Department of the Cooperative Society. Miss Bessie Robinson, an employee of the Labour Exchange, took over and provided a quick introduction of the doctor. The professor started by providing a brief explanation of the true essence of education. Education is often seen by many as a means to either increase one's earnings or get a certain advantage. These individuals allegedly neglected to recognise that education, in and of itself, is one of the most gratifying experiences that any individual can have. Properly educating an individual entails successfully eliciting their overall improvement and enhancing their ability to observe. Education, in the context of just acquiring a set of information, was only a facade of true education. Children developed the belief that all knowledge originated from books and from memorising the information they read in books. This notion of schooling was fundamentally flawed. Children should be taught to do more than just listen and memorise. They should be taught to be inquisitive, self-reliant, and to comprehend the rationale behind their actions. The speaker also said that although affluent individuals had many opportunities to acquire knowledge, they were mostly exposed to specific information that had little practical use in their future endeavours. If individuals were not educated, they would be put at a significant disadvantage. Consider any case of labour dispute - the worker quickly saw the significant disadvantage he faced when confronted with

his employer, whose education had typically been more comprehensive. After implying that skilled workers have a stronger inclination towards education compared to unskilled workers, resulting in greater success in life, the lecturer proceeded to discuss a challenging situation concerning skilled workers. This situation arises from the significant rise in specialisation, which offers limited or no educational benefits. Recently, apprentices used to acquire knowledge of all the techniques and areas of a profession. However, in the present day, particularly in the field of engineering, apprentices are only permitted to learn a specific type of specialised work. Consequently, instead of receiving a comprehensive training, apprentices become skilled solely in operating a particular type of machine. He did not really attain expertise in his profession; he was just proficient in one specific area. Regrettably, this was the situation in an increasing number of transactions. As a consequence, the worker became less proficient in several skills and also exhibited a diminished ability to fulfil his responsibilities as a citizen. This deficiency in comprehensive training caused the worker to lose some abilities that would have been preserved under the previous method of studying all aspects of a profession. Another negative consequence of specialisation was the growing tendency to hire boys instead of men, mostly because employers discovered that boys were just as capable of operating the machines. The increasing specialisation in industry was criticised for rendering apprenticeship useless. A young individual might rapidly acquire proficiency in operating a machine that demands little expertise. However, this task lacks mental stimulation, is devoid of interest, and has a dulling effect on overall cognitive functioning. The doctor emphasised the need of providing the children

with an education that would offset the industrial inclinations she had mentioned. During the 1910s, children were leaving school at an exceptionally young age, which was considered shocking. At the time of the publication, there were more than 200,000 youngsters aged 12 to 14 who were completely excused from attending day school. Only about 40,000 of these students attended evening lessons. Subsequently, there were those who had a condensed education and promptly began their employment. She was perplexed by the Lancashire people's little support for part-time labour. She was unable to see why they believed it was beneficial for their children to earn 2s 9d or 3s per week at the expense of their last two years of school - a sacrifice of such magnitude for so little gain that she was certain if they really understood the implications for the children, they would never let it. Indeed, it was accurate that for many individuals, even the little earnings of half-timers had significance. However, in other cases, it was discovered that half-timers were the offspring of parents who earned a higher-than-average income. The individuals who withdrew their children from school at the earliest opportunity were not the most impoverished. She believed that the main cause of part-time employment for many parents was their fear of returning to a state of mere survival, which they had previously experienced. In such a situation, they would have to give up some of the luxuries they had become used to. However, apart from these youngsters, the education of those who stayed in school was plagued by significant problems. The class sizes were too big, and in several instances, the pursuit of education was compromised in favour of strict discipline. It was crucial to decrease the number of students under the teacher's supervision to a minimum of 30. Additionally,

the school should create an environment where children actively engage in practical activities rather of only listening to information. Regardless of the quality of the education system, it has been proposed that it should not be deemed complete at the age of 14, but rather should be extended beyond that point. The only solution to the problem seemed to be mandatory continuing school education, which, in her view, should be scheduled during working hours. Furthermore, this education would be enhanced if it were relevant to the students' respective trades. The objective should be to pursue an education that maximises the development of individuals' abilities. The lecturer discussed the detrimental effects of "dead-end jobs" and expressed disapproval of the systematic exploitation of young people for the sake of profit-driven industries. Furthermore, the lecturer emphasised the importance of individuals taking action instead of spending excessive time reading about the accomplishments of others. For readers in the 2020s, this undoubtedly provides an intriguing perspective on schooling.

The Daily Herald published an article on September 16, 1912, discussing the potential for significant financial gains for workers via cooperative enterprises. The Local Government Board produced a White Paper on the activities of the Distress Committees in England and Wales and the Council (Unemployed) Body for London for the period ending on 31 March 1912. Out of the total of 101 provincial committees, it was reported that 56 of them did not open their records. The 29 District Committee in London received a total of 20,711 applications, which included 29,348 dependents. The ratio of applicants and dependents combined to one thousand of the population was nine.

Among the provincial Distress Committee, a total of 45 members together received 33,308 applications. A total of 28,357 individuals had their petitions processed, together with 76,471 dependents. The combined percentage of these two groups in the population was fourteen per thousand. The Co-operative Societies deserve congratulations for their consistent and ongoing success. At the time of the article, there were 1,500 organisations with a membership of about 3,000,000. These societies engaged in commerce amounting to over £116,000,000 during the year and generated a profit of just under £13,000,000. Among these organisations, it was acknowledged that the most significant ones were the 112 referred to as "Productive Societies". Despite their membership of 32,110, commerce of £3,292,066, and earnings of £216,729, these numbers seemed little compared to the previously mentioned enormous statistics. However, these productive societies held a greater significance than the rest of the co-operative movement. Specifically, the combination of these societies and the productive departments of the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies were larger in scale compared to all the other purely productive societies combined. These numbers indicate that there were a total of 30,000 workers who were employed by workers themselves. These workers were engaged in the production of commodities under the guidance of workers, with the ultimate goal of benefiting workers. These statistics indicate that a significant portion of the British industry was owned, managed, and operated by the workers themselves. The total commercial transactions amounted to £12,471,415, with a profit of slightly under £500,000 (about 4%). This portion of British industry was dispersed throughout several sectors, including cotton,

linen, silk, and wool production, as well as the manufacturing of boots, shoes, leather, and coremilling. These were only a few of the major components. There were no capitalist shareholders who received dividends from an enterprise in which they had no personal stake; the earnings were distributed among the workers. The contributor thought that the workers would soon be empowered to combat the most detrimental types of private company by reducing the size of such enterprises to a point where they could no longer effectively compete.

On July 21, 1913, the Western Mail documented a meeting between Lord Plymouth and workers, as well as many initial activities related to the housing movement in South Wales and Monmouthshire. These events showed great potential for success. The Rhubina Fields Garden Village, located near Cardiff, inaugurated an exemplary housing project. The Earl of Plymouth and the Cardiff Workers' Co-operative Garden Village Society (Limited) officially unveiled the concept. The donor expressed satisfaction with the influential support under which the event took place. Mr. Stanley Jevons, the founder of the society and managing director of the Housing Reform Company, Limited, deserves the most congratulations for the guaranteed success of the Rhubina scheme. His reported enthusiasm and self-sacrificing efforts were acknowledged with a strong sense of gratitude by many of the participants in the afternoon's program. Jevons proceeded to provide a detailed explanation of the goals and objectives of the Cardiff Workers' Co-operative Garden Village Society (Limited). He clarified that the society was not focused on making a profit, as the dividend on the shares was capped at 5% per year. Any

extra income generated from rents would be returned to the tenants in the form of a dividend based on the percentage of their rent. It functioned as a collaborative society, a distinct urban area inside another urban area. The organisation received a Government loan from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at an interest rate of 3.5% per year. This allowed tenants of the smaller dwellings to benefit from lower rental prices relative to the facilities and services supplied. They acquired and fully paid for a total of fourteen acres of property, and also made a down payment for an additional four years. They had entered into a contractual agreement to construct 34 dwellings, with the first one already finished. The organisation aimed to swiftly proceed with its plan to acquire an additional twelve acres of property and construct a total of 300 dwellings on the 30 acres it would own. The estimated expenditure amounts to around £100,000, which would successfully accomplish the first stages of the society's aspiration. The goal was to ensure continuous advancement in the construction and expansion of the estate, including its public gardens, playgrounds, and open spaces. Given the high demand for the society's residences, the speed of progress would be determined only by the availability of investment cash. Hence, the committee implored the residents of Cardiff and the other areas to actively engage in the development of the garden village and assist them in achieving their objectives in the foreseeable future

The Manchester Evening News, on 1 June 1914, documented the occurrence of the forty-sixth annual congress of representatives from the co-operative societies of the United Kingdom, which was held at the Metropolitan Hotel in Dublin. Shortly before, there was

a display of co-operative production and a formal luncheon. Distinguished individuals such as Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir Henry Grattan Bellen, and the renowned author Mr. H. G. Wells were in attendance. The Cooperative Congress in Ireland was convened for the first time, with Mr. Robert Fleming of Belfast, a renowned Irish Co-operative worker, serving as the presiding officer. The initial declaration stated that the Lord Mayor of Dublin had declined to attend and provide a civic reception to the Congress. However, Mr. O'Brien, representing the local Trades and Labour Council, extended a warm welcome. He emphasised that the recent initiative of co-operators in sending foodships to Dublin, in response to the prevailing distress, had significantly contributed to the progress of co-operation in the city, surpassing the impact of any speeches that could have been delivered. Prior to delivering the inaugural speech, the president conveyed the delegates' sympathies and condolences to those who had lost loved ones in the sinking of the RMS Empress of Ireland and, more recently, to those affected by the mine explosion in South Yorkshire. During his presidential speech, Mr. Fleming acknowledged the prevailing social and industrial turmoil and forecasted that cooperation would have a significant and essential role in the development of society's social and economic structure. Regarding the advancement of the movement, he said that it was really satisfying. The commerce volume during 1913 exceeded £130,000,000, which represents a growth of £7,125,655 compared to 1912. The share capital amounted to £41,119,373, representing a growth of £2,705,410. The net earnings for the year, after deducting all costs, was £14,260,414 - representing a growth of £971,108 in comparison to the previous year, 1902. The number of societies decreased by 12, but this purportedly did not indicate any decline in development. The reason for this was attributed to a program of merger and consolidation. Mr. Fleming emphasised the need of cooperation, regardless of religious or political differences. He also highlighted the formation of cooperative organisations in colleges as a significant indication of the current period. He discussed the impact of cooperation in setting a minimum salary and disproved the claim that cooperation only cares about the services provided by their workers and nothing else. Ultimately, he emphasised that cooperation must exert extraordinary efforts to progress in the realm of manufacturing and the management of raw materials in order to attain their desired goals. The remaining portion of the morning session was dedicated to receiving foreign delegations, and Mr. B. Kenyon M.P. sent greetings on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. Approximately 1,500 delegates attended the congress, and there was a significant level of public interest in the proceedings.

On May 11, 1915, the Yorkshire Evening Post published an article titled "Workers' Co-operation." In order to effectively manage the extensive munitions factory in Leeds at the height of World War I, a proposal was made to establish a Management Board. This board would be comprised of five individuals who would be selected by the Leeds Munitions Committee. They would serve as trustees for the Government without receiving any payment. According to reports, the success of the national factory would rely on the collaboration of the labour force. It was suggested that the most effective way to do this would be to establish

a broader committee that includes representatives from both the companies and the workers. Proficient labourers would get training at one of the already munitions manufacturing facilities. On behalf of Lord Kitchener, he could confirm that he really valued the district's action. The speaker presented all of the ideas to the Government and anticipated a prompt and positive response. An article was published in Votes for Women on 29 October 1915, stating that the women's section of the Irish Workers' Co-operative Society, based at Liberty Hall in Dublin, had recently released a pamphlet. This pamphlet, originally published in the Workers' Republic and edited by Mr. James Connolly, aimed to present the goals and objectives of Syndicalist women to Suffragists. The Women's Union has just adopted a Suffrage resolution and, under the competent leadership of Miss Helena Molony, aims to enhance the power of the Suffrage movement in Ireland. The brochure discussed the endeavours of these ladies, which now included a collaborative workspace and a store selling fabrics and clothing. The secretary was reportedly situated at 31 Eden Quay, Dublin. On November 6, 1915, the Women's Dreadnought published an article on the release of a penny booklet titled "Women's Need of Women's Trade Unions" by 'M.E.' The leaflet was issued by the Society at Liberty Hall. The booklet, consisting of 15 pages, was well recognised for providing an exceptionally thorough overview of several aspects of Trade or Industrial Unionism and Co-operation. It was vital for women working in different women's industries to develop their own associations to safeguard their interests, rather than relying only on men's unions for protection.

The Dudley Chronicle stated on November 25, 1916 that education related to co-operative organisations had always been a prominent aspect. Cooperation facilitated trade and business endeavours driven by a guiding principle, while educational initiatives primarily focused on upholding this principle. The aim was to foster a Co-operative Commonwealth, as business advancements in production and distribution brought it closer to fruition. The idea of cooperation sprang from a vision of improved and elevated social and industrial existence. Its aim was to actualise the aspiration of individuals in terms of their social and economic interactions. According to their argument, success could only be achieved if people embraced cooperation and adopted the mindset of the individuals who established this philosophy in the early 1800s. Their progress would mostly rely on providing the people with a suitable and effective education. Consequently, several labourers in Dudley and the surrounding area enthusiastically embraced the first gathering of an educational committee associated with the local cooperative organisation, filled with delight and optimism. This newly formed organisation has already started a campaign to promote the principles of collaboration and teamwork among households. The work had been very necessary in the area. The writer suggests that it could have been unnecessary to encourage individuals to collaborate at that time. According to their statement, everyone was now a collaborator. However, the notion of cooperation was permeating all sectors and levels of society. The working classes were the first group to implement the notion in a rudimentary manner, since they lacked the resources to initiate it in a more sophisticated form. They were their own immediate progenitors. The

individuals in question were often earning meagre salaries and were subject to exploitation by all those they interacted with. Nevertheless, they exerted their utmost effort. The only means of escaping the injustices imposed upon them was via collective cooperation. Their visionary ancestors spoke with one other, expressing their desire to collaborate. They pooled their resources and collectively purchased food, which they then sold to each other at market value. The resulting excess profit was divided among them. They made genuine efforts to expand their endeavours. Specifically, they attempted to establish collaborative workshops for their own employment. Notably, they allocated any excess revenues towards educational initiatives. As low-wage labourers, they saw the need of education for the future advancement of workers in taking control of their own affairs. While they acknowledged the limitations of time, they nevertheless anticipated that others would continue their work and strive towards the realisation of the Commonwealth they envisioned. They were progressing with the task, but if they didn't increase their speed, their imitators would catch up to them. Growers of innovative materials, manufacturers, shippers, distributors, and other stakeholders are increasingly collaborating on a daily basis to enhance their own interests. If the workers do not collaborate more effectively and energetically for their own well-being, they will remain under the control of others, with increasing severity. Cooperation refers to the act of working together to achieve mutual benefits and accomplish tasks for one's own advantage. The workers had the expectation of collaboration. Collaboration among themselves would help them overcome the challenges that collaboration with other parties was causing for them. The contention

was made that collaboration was the one solution to their current challenges. The development of a local government system was crucial in providing the people with their food, fuel, and clothing needs.

The North Down Herald and County Down Independent covered a lecture delivered by Mr. Robert Fleming, the Co-operative Organiser for Ireland of Belfast Co-operative Society Limited, on 28 July 1916. Fleming stated that cooperation is accompanied by a commitment to both industrial prosperity and peace. To the casual observer, the movement may seem like a simple system of commerce, but beneath this commercial activity lies the more comprehensive objective of coordinating the community's buying power for the democratic management of industry. The worker is attracted to it because it does not sell any products that are known to be produced under unfair labour circumstances and because it pays aboveaverage wages to its employees. The objective is to prohibit speculative gambling in food and raw materials, which impose a significant burden on both workers and consumers. The Co-operative Movement, established and managed by the people who also contribute the required capital and trade, has successfully united custom, labour, and capital in novel ways. It currently represents a highly promising and influential force for advancing both industrial and social well-being.

On August 3, 1918, the Daily Herald published an article titled 'Real Reconstruction in Russia', which discussed the Soviet ideas for worker ownership of industry. The author of the piece seemed to commend

the new Soviet administration for its efforts. Unbeknownst to the writer, the new Soviet administration was really a deceitful and opportunistic ploy aimed at deceiving the oppressed. After gaining control over the vulnerable, the Soviet government quickly adopted despotic measures, implementing a system of 'state capitalism' and creating fake trade unions. It is well known among knowledgeable individuals that trade unions were not adequately established in the USSR. Merely one year later, on August 18, 1919, the Nottingham Journal reported that a socialist conference in Northampton expressed opposition to the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks, and expressed support for the nonviolent liberation of India from British rule in the near future. Mr. Hyndman claimed to have had a close personal relationship with three successive generations of Russian revolutionaries. Kropotkin and other individuals who had actively participated in the efforts to topple the Czarist regime and held strong opposition towards both the earlier and later forms of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks did not really pursue meaningful reform for the common populace. According to popular belief, one of the most significant mistakes was failing to acknowledge that those individuals were adversaries of democracy upon their arrival in Russia. The general populace of Russia was entirely unsuited for the concept of 'scientific socialism'. Over 80% of the population lacked the ability to read or write, and their condition was similar to that of the European population in the seventeenth century. Transforming the seventh century into the twentieth century by a decree from Moscow or any other authority was an unattainable task. He said that those who tried to impose a new kind of extreme violence had not only

shown their moral incorrectness but also their intellectual incompetence. According to him, Lenin and Trotsky were unsuccessful in both assessments. In the same edition, another article reported that after members of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees in South Lancashire and the Airedale district of Yorkshire submitted strike notices, the employing societies in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and North Wales had given notice to terminate contracts for 30,000 workers the following week. In the "Women's World" column of the Nottingham Journal on 4 June 1920, it was stated that a proposal had been made to enhance the quality of life for employed women and those who, after getting married, were no longer able to work. It was said that there was no doubt about whether a married lady may work for wages or not. Not all women possessed the inherent inclination for housekeeping. Therefore, a woman who was unsuited for homemaking should be allowed to pursue her preferred sphere of work after marriage, such as in a shop, factory, or office. Meanwhile, it was suggested that another woman who genuinely enjoyed housework should be responsible for the daily chores in her own household and possibly in other households as well. They proposed the establishment of cooperative laundries, cooperative restaurants, and daily creches, all operated on a cooperative basis, to provide care for newborns and young children throughout the day. It was said that the lady would no longer be considered her husband's personal possession or property, but rather they would be equal partners, spending the day together and both having independent sources of income. According to their writing, under these circumstances, they envisioned the industrial worker engaging in leisurely activities such as reading her

preferred literature, pursuing her amateur interests in painting or music, or spending peaceful and comfortable time in the garden with her spouse. They acknowledged the potential benefits of having recognised daily domestic workers, cooperative laundries, and restaurants. However, they expressed scepticism about whether women's complete liberation would be achieved by a route that seemed to be filled with pleasant fragrances. They saw the presence of a significant obstacle ahead of them.

CONCLUSION

"Co-operation comes with a promise of industrial prosperity and peace. To the ordinary observer the movement may ap- pear a mere system of shopkeeping, but behind this trading there lies the fuller purpose of organising the purchasing power of the community for the democratic control of industry. It commends itself to the worker because it retails no goods which are known to have the taint of unfair labour conditions and because it pays high average rates of remuneration to those whom it employs. It seeks to ban gambling speculations in food and raw material, which exact so heavy a toll from both worker and consumer. Built up and governed by the people and provided by them with its necessary capital and trade, the Co-operative Movement has brought custom, labour and capital together under new relationships and stands today as a most promising and powerful factor for the twin causes of industrial and social betterment."

- Robert Fleming, Co-operative Organiser for Ireland, Belfast Co-operative Society Limited, 28 July 1916 (North Down Herald and County Down Independent)

The history of the workers' co-operative movement in Great Britain is not merely a chronicle of a past endeavour; it is a harbinger for a future characterised by economic democracy and social justice. The co-operative model, which is characterised by its principles of democratic decision-making, worker control, and collective ownership, provides a potent

remedy for the inequities of corporate capitalism and the centralised authority of Marxism, as we have previously examined. The co-operative model is a compelling "third way" that arises within this context, guiding a path towards a more democratic and humane economy.

At its centre, economic democracy aims to redistribute power from the few to the many. This objective is accomplished in the context of workers' cooperatives by emphasising the importance of workers in the organisation. Cooperatives exemplify the principle that those who contribute to the success of a business should have a say in its governance and a share in its rewards, from equal voting rights in company decisions to profit-sharing mechanisms that guarantee equitable compensation. The enduring success of co-operatives during periods of financial crisis in Britain and beyond is evidence of the fact that this model not only enhances worker satisfaction and engagement but also generates enterprises that are more resilient to economic disruptions.

In contrast, the authoritarianism and bureaucratic inefficiencies that frequently result from the inflexible structures of Marxism, which prioritise state control and centralisation. Although Marxism aims to deconstruct the capitalist system, it poses a danger of substituting one form of domination with another, in which the state becomes the primary arbiter of economic activity, rather than the people. In the same way, corporate capitalism, which is motivated by the pursuit of profit at all costs, results in the erosion of workers' rights, environmental degradation, and

immense inequalities. In such a system, the few individuals who currently control capital possess disproportionate power, rendering labourers susceptible to exploitation and disempowered.

Nevertheless, the cooperative model provides a non-authoritarian alternative that empowers workers without the necessity of major state intervention or corporate control. Cooperatives establish robust, resilient communities that prioritise the welfare of their members over the accumulation of wealth by cultivating a culture of shared responsibility, solidarity, and mutual aid. This 'third way' is a practical, proved approach that can be adapted to the challenges of the modern economy, rather than a utopian fantasy or a relic of the past.

There are numerous advantages to this methodology. Cooperatives are characterised by stronger connections to their local communities, higher levels of worker satisfaction, and reduced wage disparities. They are more inclined to prioritise sustainable practices and reinvest profits in ways that benefit society as a whole. Additionally, co-operatives are inherently more responsive to the demands and aspirations of workers due to the fact that they are owned and managed by their members. This results in a more equitable distribution of wealth and power.

Naturally, the cooperative model is not without its obstacles. Securing capital, scaling up cooperatives, and navigating a legal and regulatory environment that is designed for traditional corporations can be significant challenges. Nevertheless, these obstacles are

not insurmountable. Cooperatives can flourish and expand, thereby contributing to a more resilient and diverse economy, with the appropriate policy support, including legal recognition, tax incentives, and access to finance. Additionally, education and public awareness are essential for the promotion of the cooperative model, ensuring that the advantages of economic democracy are understood by policymakers, consumers, and workers.

Looking forwards, the co-operative movement in Britain has immense potential. The co-operative model is a viable alternative to the unsustainable practices of corporate capitalism and the centralised control of the state, as an increasing number of individuals are seeking alternatives. By adopting cooperatives, we can establish an economy that is not only more democratic and sustainable, but also more just and equitable.

In summary, the history of the workers' co-operative movement in Great Britain provides valuable insights for the future of economic democracy. The co-operative model offers a non-authoritarian alternative to both Marxism and contemporary corporate society, as it places a strong emphasis on worker empowerment and collective ownership. It is imperative that we continue to investigate and advocate for this model as we progress, acknowledging its capacity to improve our economy and society. The moment has arrived to reclaim the economy for the people and to establish a future in which democracy is not limited to the political sphere but also extends to the workplace. The workers' cooperative movement has paved the way; it is now our responsibility to emulate it.

